



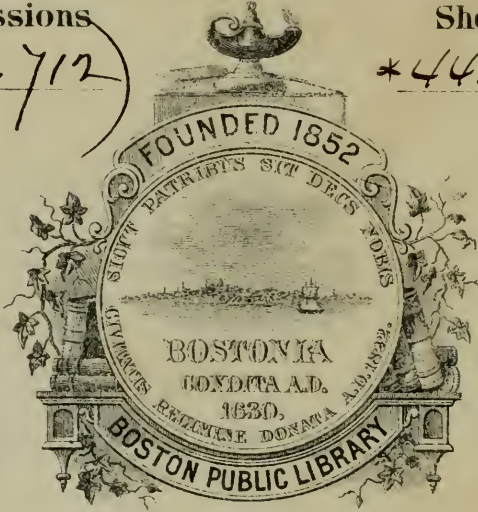
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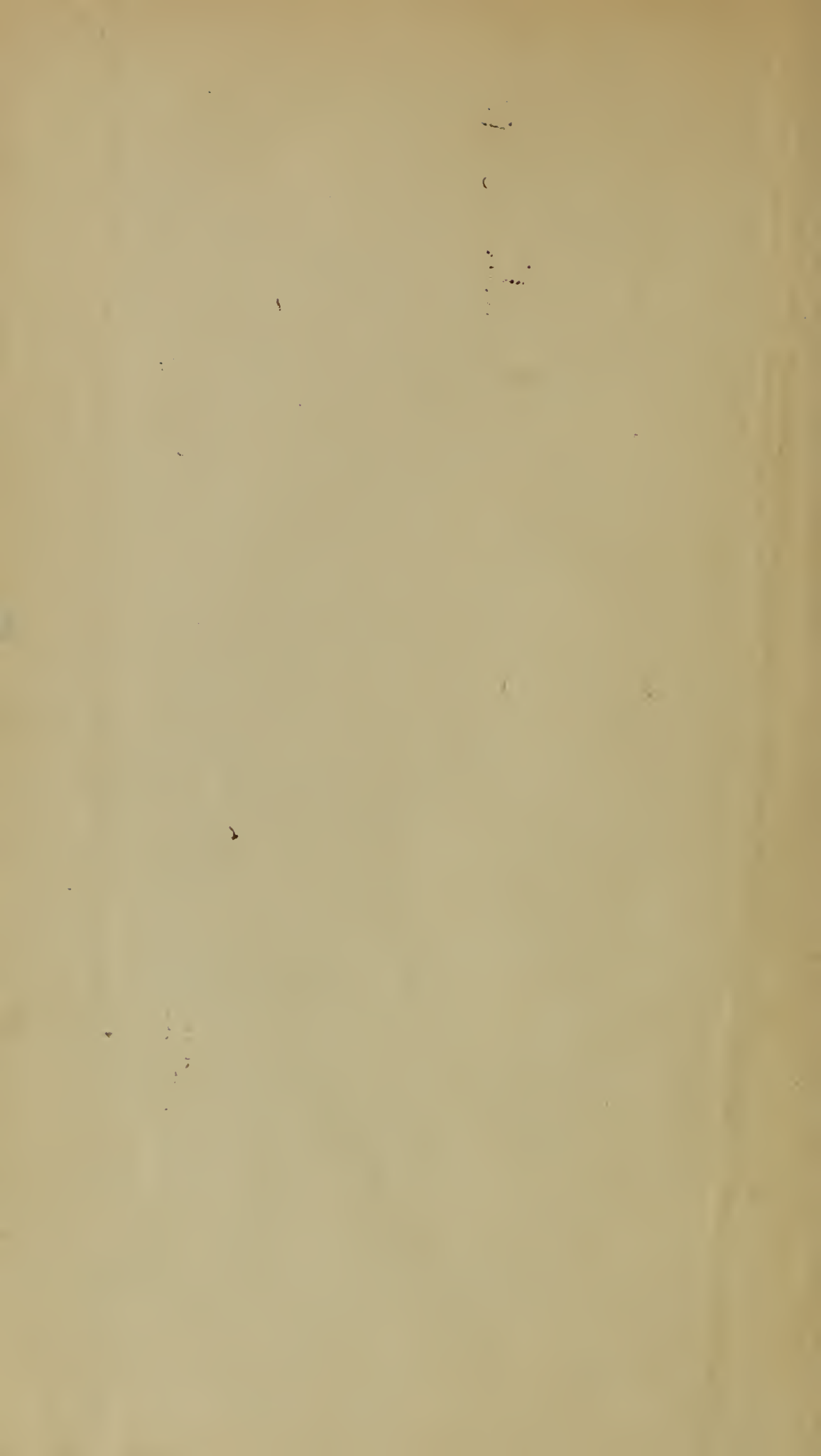
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CAPTAIN MAURY'S LETTER

ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

HON. J. C. BRECKINRIDGE'S

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY.

EX-GOV. LOWE'S LETTER

TO THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

ADDRESS OF GEO. N. SANDERS

TO THE DEMOCRACY OF THE NORTH-WEST.

GOV. LETCHER'S MESSAGE

TO THE VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

MESSAGE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS

TO THE CONFEDERATE CONGRESS.

BALTIMORE:

1862.

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CAPTAIN MAURY'S LETTER
ON
AMERICAN AFFAIRS.
ALSO THE
ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE
TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY.

CAPT. MAURY ON AMERICAN AFFAIRS.

A LETTER ADDRESSED TO REAR-ADMIRAL FITZ ROY, OF ENGLAND.

RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, August, 1861.

MY DEAR ADMIRAL:—Since this nefarious war was forced upon us, my hands have been busy in preparing for it; and I have not had either the time or the opportunity to let my friends and former fellow-laborers on your side of the water know what is become of me. My country was torn; the Union was gone; a number of States had renounced it. In this breaking up of our once happy and great Republic, it became me to take sides. The path of right and duty was clear, and here I am.

On the 20th of April, finding that this, my native State, in the exercise of her high prerogative, had withdrawn from the Federal Union and appealed to her sons to rally around her, I would not, I could not, and did not hesitate to obey the call and hasten to her relief.

On that day, after formally renouncing all allegiance to the now shattered Federal Government, and turning over to the officer next in command the trust that had by it been confided to my care, I left the Observatory at Washington once more a free citizen of Virginia. Its associations, the treasures there, which, with your help and that of thousands of other friendly hands, had been collected from the sea, were precious to me, and as I turned my back upon the place a tear furrowed my cheek, for I could not but recollect that such things were.

The Yankees, as only those who are making war upon us are now called, have shown themselves vindictive to a degree; they have vilified me; they have set a price upon my head, and intercepted all of my foreign correspondence, so that I have not been able to get a hearing in any part of Europe, or to communicate, since April last, with any friend there.

It is becoming and proper that I should make known to my friends abroad the course that I have thought right to pursue in this new state of things. And to be clear, I beg leave to interpolate here a few remarks explanatory of the relations of the several States to the Federal Union, and of the relations in which the citizen stands to his State and the Union.

At the end of the war which separated the thirteen colonies from the British crown, each one was separately acknowledged and recognized as a free, sovereign and independent State. When the States formed the Federal Union, they did not renounce their sovereignty any more than Great Britain renounced her sovereignty when she formed the Holy Alliance. They only delegated a portion of it to be used by the trustee or agent, called the Federal Union, for certain fixed and definite purposes and no other.

When Virginia agreed to this compact and adopted the Federal Constitution, she accompanied the act with the following declaration asserting her right, for cause, to withdraw from it at will:

Act of the State of Virginia adopting the Federal Constitution, passed the 26th day of June, 1788.

We, the delegates of the people of Virginia, duly elected in pursuance of a recommendation from the General Assembly, and now met in Convention, having fully and freely investigated and discussed the proceedings of the Federal Convention, and being prepared as well as the most mature deliberation hath enabled us, to decide

thereon, DO, in their name and in behalf of the people of Virginia, declare and make known that the powers granted under the Constitution, being derived from the people of the United States, may be resumed by them whenever the same shall be perverted to their injury or oppression; and that every power not granted thereby, remains with them and at their will. That therefore, no right of any denomination can be canceled, abridged, restrained or modified, by the Congress, by the Senate or House of Representatives acting in any capacity, by the President, or any department or officer of the United States, except in those instances in which power is given by the Constitution for those purposes; and that among other essential rights, the liberty of conscience and of the press, cannot be canceled, abridged, restrained or modified by any authority of the United States."

Owing to the complicated form and peculiar nature of our government, State and Federal, we, its citizens, all owe a double allegiance. First to the State in which we were born or of which we claim citizenship. Afterwards to the Federal Government of which that State is a part. Now as this is a relation which at first seems difficult of comprehension, especially to those who are not thorough masters of our political institutions, I will produce here the celebrated Charlotte resolutions. They were uttered when I was just entering upon the stage of manhood, and their soundness and real American orthodoxy have been confessed and acknowledged now for these thirty years by our wisest and best statesmen.

THE CHARLOTTE RESOLUTIONS.

Resolved, That Virginia is, and of right ought to be, a free, sovereign and independent State; that she became so by her own separate act, which has been since recognized by all the civilized world, and has never been disavowed, retracted or in any wise impaired or weakened by any subsequent act of hers.

Resolved, That when for purposes of common defence and common welfare, Virginia entered into a strict league of amity and alliance with the other twelve colonies of British North America, she parted with no portion of her sovereignty. Although from the necessity of the case, the authority to enforce obedience was, in certain cases and for certain purposes, delegated to the common agent of the whole Confederacy.

Resolved, That Virginia has never parted with the right to recall the authority so delegated, for good and sufficient cause, nor with the right to judge of the sufficiency of such cause, and to secede from the confederacy whenever she shall find the benefits of the Union exceeded by its evils. Union being the means of securing liberty and happiness and not an end to which these should be sacrificed.

Resolved, That the allegiance of the people of Virginia is due to her—that to her their obedience is due, while to them she owes protection against all the consequences of such obedience.

Thus it appears that Virginia, in withdrawing from the Union, did but exercise a reserved and inalienable right, and that, in following her fortunes, I performed a simple act of duty and devotion. Right or wrong it was my duty to follow her.—How happy, then, ought not I to be that her cause is so holy and just?

Pray now, my friend, after this interpolation, bear with me while, briefly and succinctly, from the Southern stand-point, I explain to you the real nature of those influences which have led to this early disruption of the American Union:—You recollect that I told you when in London last November, when these difficulties were just beginning to loom up abroad, that all the right was on our side. You could not understand it then, for your information was derived chiefly through the Northern press. Few people in England, I believe, ever read a Southern newspaper; led astray by the apparently just but really one-sided statements and teachings of the Northern press, your people were induced to look upon our troubles, and the complaints of the South, merely as the empty ravings of a political party that had been turned out of power. The South, by some means, it was held, ruled the Government from the beginning; it had lorded it over the North—and now that the North, having its patience worn out, had, by constitutional means, taken the power in its own hands, the South was simply acting the part of a spoiled child, in the overgrown boy, who had been allowed to play with a borrowed toy until he believed it his own, and who when at last it was taken away and restored to its rightful owner, disturbed the family with his childish ravings. Such seemed to be the light in which the affair was looked upon generally in England and on the Continent—and such evidently was the light in which the Yankee press held it up to foreign view. But the real difficulty is one of another sort, and the causes out of which it has sprung are old and deep seated. They are partly physical, partly industrial, partly social, and partly political; they have been cumulative.

The New England States are manufacturing, sea-faring and commercial—the Southern States are agricultural. The most profitable labor in this country was the agricultural labor of the South. Your own commercial statistics prove this, for they show that about three-fourths of the national exports consisted of agricultural products of the South.

Here then were two sections of the country so invested with physical conditions, that labor in the field was very unprofitable in one—very profitable and highly remunerative in the other. Yielding to these conditions, the laboring man of the North, to earn a living found it easier to go to sea than starve at home—while his fellow at the South, found it easier to gather “enough and to spare” from the teeming soil and the genial climate of his own sunny South.

Therefore, at the formation of the Government the two sections presented themselves—one as sea-faring, with fishing as its chief occupation; the other, as agricultural.

But soon the Yankees came up with representations of this sort:—Fishing is a poor business said they—it doesn't pay—but fishing ought to be encouraged for National purposes; therefore, let us not only protect Yankee-caught fish in our markets against the fish caught by the Irish, Dutch and French, but let us give the New Englanders a bounty on all fish that they can catch. In a few words, let us tax this agricultural business of the South, which is so profitable, for the benefit of our fishermen, whose business if left to itself won't pay. And so annually large sums of money were taken directly out of the common treasury, ostensibly, but originally and really, from the pockets of the Southern planter, to pay the New Englanders for catching fish for their own uses.

This went on many years under the plea that these fisheries were a nursery for seamen; and unless American seamen were fostered in such a nursery, the nation, it was said, could not have a navy. But when it was obvious that we could get seamen in abundance without drawing upon any such nursery, the South sought, but the North steadily and persistently refused, their assent to a repeal of the fishing-bounty Act.

The South held that in the eyes of the Federal Government all citizens were equal, that all the States stood on the same footing, that the Union was formed, not for individual but for the common good, and that Congress had no right to tax any citizen or class of citizens for the benefit of another. The Federal compact required taxes to be equal, and all citizens, labors and industry, to be taxed alike. It was as much the duty of Congress to foster, encourage and protect the industry of South Carolina, as of Massachusetts—of one State as of another. Such was the Southern doctrine, and such were the teachings of the fathers. But the country went on growing and prospering, and there was simply from the South a protest against this heresy.

Finally, in 1812, to protect Northern interests, and to vindicate the commercial rights of New England—for the South had neither ships to be searched, nor seamen to be impressed—we went to war with old England. The New England States ignobly backed out of that war, and left the others to bear the blunt of it.

With peace there arose a school of protectionists; men who unwisely said, let “us not depend upon John Bull any more for anything whatever, let us henceforward do our own manufacturing, our own fetching and carrying. But to enable us to do these, we must encourage and protect the workshops and artisans of New England. And as the agricultural labor of the South is so very profitable, we may charge it with the support of this New England interest also. They have stood annual bounties to our fishermen for years, and we ‘guess’ they will stand protection for a while.”

Political economists may say what they will, but legislate and theorize as they may they cannot without robbery make any branch of labor profitable which is not self-sustaining; to make such industry profitable, some body must pay, and, as a rule, the money must come out of the pockets of those whose business is self-sustaining.

But protection in this instance, they said, was only required to set this manufacturing business in New England on its legs—that it would soon be able to stand alone, when the power of protection might be withdrawn. So the South yielded, and consented again to be taxed; but this time the tax was under the form of a tariff, not of a bounty; though in the end it was the same, for it had to be paid by the self-sustaining labor of the country, and that was chiefly at the South.

New Englanders are proverbially sharp, keen, and “cute;” so having once tasted of the treasury pap through cunningly devised tariff bills, they soon discovered that heavy expenditures from the Federal Treasury would necessitate high tariffs, then they went for an extravagant government, and engineered with Congress for large appropriations. To create demands upon the national purse, they established navy-

yards where they were not required; built forts where not wanted; erected light-houses where they were not needed; and actually studded the Northern sea-board with establishments of this sort, while the whole Southern coast, from the Capes of Virginia all the way round to the mouth of the Rio Grande in Texas, was but badly lighted, though the navigation along the Southern Bays is most difficult and dangerous. There is also along the Southern coast a half-finished fortification here and there, and, as for a navy-yard, there is not one in which there could be found any of the usual facilities either for building or repairing, and neither of these operations could be performed except for double cost. As for light-houses, compare those of the Florida coast with those of New England, and you will better appreciate the force of those remarks.

Pray look at this somewhat attentively, for it is one of the points of difficulty in the quarrel that is not apt to be perceived by one outside of the national family circle. Though neither the sole nor the chief cause, it is nevertheless, one of the many aggravating influences which helped to make it; along the coast of the Northern States, and within the distance of about two hundred and fifty miles, they have no less than four magnificent dock-yards, where millions of public money are annually expended. But along the Southern coast from Cape Hatteras to the Rio Grande, a distance of nearly two thousand miles, the South has but one navy-yard, and that only in name, for no vessel has ever been repaired there; and as for building, though it has been established about forty years, the first vessel constructed there has yet to be commissioned into service. In case of disaster to a man-of-war in the Gulf of Mexico or the West Indies, she has to go to a Northern ship-yard to be repaired and paid off. This is only another one of the many cute little Yankee tricks to which the Northerners have resorted to get the public money disbursed among them.

As a rule, the great mass of the public expenditures were made at the North, not in the South, so that the Southrons found themselves doubly taxed—taxed first for the benefit of the Northern manufactures, and then, in the disbursement of the public funds, denied an equal participation in the benefits accruing therefrom.

Thus fostered, pampered and petted, the Northerners began to think themselves altogether superior to the Southrons, for, said they, “look at our shipping and commerce—behold the beauty and magnificence of our cities—mark our workshops and railways—contrast them with the like at the South, and then say if these are not the evidences of a different and a better people—the indications of a superior race?”

With this, they took up the notion that they could not associate with us in the common territories because of our slaves. We held slaves when they sought our alliance. They knew that, for they kidnapped them in Africa, they and the English brought them over in their ships and sold them to us. But notwithstanding this agreement, the Constitution and their obligations under it, they announced a “higher law,” and pronounced their agreement with us under the Constitution a “covenant with hell.” Will these people keep faith any better with money-lenders when debts pinch? With this temper in the Northern heart and mind, the Federal Government found itself seized with a vast extent of unpeopled lands, the common property alike of all the States. Much of it had been given to the Federal Government by the Southern States for the benefit of the Commonwealth; some of it had been acquired from the Indians by treaty and purchase—and some had been bought from France, Spain and Mexico; but all was paid for out of the common Treasury. Into these territories the North now insisted that the Southerners should not go unless they left their slaves behind.

To this the South said “nay,” for continued we these lands belong as much to us as to you—they are the common property of all the States; the Federal Government is only the trustee in the matter; it is bound to manage them for the good of the whole—it cannot discriminate between the heirs. Look at the deed, and title, and Constitution, and you will see that we have the same right to go and settle upon these lands with our servants as you have with your “helps” and apprentices, or with your oxen and asses. But in reply they began to preach about their new-fangled doctrine of a law more sacred and binding than oath on the Holy Evangely—and tell us that our slaves, if carried into a territory, would be degrading to them. Thus, by mere force of numbers, they voted us out of our lands, and appropriated them to speculation and their own purposes.

These public lands, instead of a blessing to the Government, have proved a curse; they have had more to do in hastening on the present unhappy state of affairs than people generally are aware. They have given to the country an apparent prosperity by attracting to it hordes of emigrants from abroad, who, with their money, their in-

dustry, and their policy, imparted to the Republic a progress in wealth and population which astonished the world. Puffing up the people with national vain glory, the prosperity of the country induced them to overlook all else, and ascribe every thing to our peculiar form of Government and Yankee enterprises.

These emigrants, with their votes, have often turned elections; before they had come to understand our institutions, their voice has had controlling influences with the Government.

The public lands have caused the fall of the Republic, while yet in the vigor of youth, by means of their policy, which, within the last thirty years, has been pursued with regard to them. Up to that time the practice was to organize them slowly into territories, to admit them sparingly into market, and so to regulate the settling of them up as to prepare for their reception into the Union in pairs—one State with slavery, and one State without slavery, always together. This was done until the number of States had been increased from thirteen to thirty, and the Union consisted of fifteen States with, and fifteen States without slavery.

The reason for this practice is obvious. It is found in this consideration—In the Senate every State was entitled to two votes and no more, though the free States, by virtue of this land policy and consequent more rapid increase of their population, had acquired the ascendancy in the lower House; yet so long as they were equal in the Senate, it was impossible for one section to combine for unfriendly legislation against the other, for all laws required for their passage concurrent majorities in each House. The House might be unanimously in favor of a measure, yet it fails to become a law if there be in the Senate even a majority of one against it.

General Washington, in his virtue and wisdom, had warned the people against the dangers of dividing the country geographically into sections. They might and had arranged themselves into parties, but these were irrespective of parallels of latitude, isothermal lines, or the "peculiar institution."

A division of parties by geographical lines, if it should take place, would, the fathers of the Republic saw, be most liable to take place on the Slavery question. Hence, for many generations, the policy was religiously adopted and rigidly pursued, of equalizing the number of free and slave States, and preserving that equality in one branch of the legislature.

The law also forbid at least the immigration of Slaveholders with their slaves from Brazil, South America, Cuba, Jamaica, and elsewhere, but it encouraged the immigration of free white persons, from all parts of the world.

Under these laws, the free States increased in population more rapidly than the slave States; for the emigrants generally being anti-slavery in their opinions, preferred to settle in the free States. Therefore the growth of these in population was greatly assisted by the tide of new comers from Europe, while that of the slave States was left to its own natural increase.

Yet, nevertheless, Congress, until a quarter of a century back, was slow to organize new territories on the anti-slavery side of 36 deg. 30 min., or to open up the lands in these for settlements, and in order to preserve this equality of numbers between the States—pro and anti-slavery—the public lands were brought so sparingly into market, that the receipts therefrom were not more than sufficient to pay the expenses thereof. Such was the case until about 30 years ago.

About that time, and in an evil hour, this wise policy was abandoned, and the people were tempted by the Government out into a sea of speculation upon the public lands such as the world never saw.

Under it the laws of naturalization were relaxed. Ireland was drained of her increase, and all Europe was initiated, persuaded and tempted to come and help us to subdue, occupy and replenish the magnificent wilderness of America.

In a single year, the sales of the public lands, which had never reached more than \$3, went up to \$26 millions. Land scrip and warrants were dispensed like waste paper.

Every man who had ever served as much as two weeks in war, had land for a farm given to him.

Besides bounty lands to the soldiers and sailors of every war, donations of public lands by millions of acres in the single grant were made to the new States or given to individuals and corporations to aid in the construction of railways and canals, and a variety of other enterprises.

Companies for the sale of these lands were formed on both sides of the Atlantic. Drummers to beat up purchasers went out into all parts of Europe. Listening to their representations, and yielding to temptation, a throng of living souls such as has been rarely seen, was put in motion for the wilds of America. The extravagants of the Mississippi scheme were realized.

Such a tide of emigrants soon swelled the population of the new territory to the number required to entitle it to one representative in the popular branch of Congress.

Thereupon, the new territory was admitted into the Union as a free, sovereign and independent State; it was consequently received into the Senate upon an equality, as to votes and political power, with the oldest and most populous of the original States.

Instead of dividing this free territory out into large States like Texas, it was divided into States only about one-fifth as large; consequently the balance of power in the Senate could not be maintained long under this system of inflowing population from abroad, nor could it last a moment after parties arranged themselves according to sectional lines; as soon as this balance was destroyed, the issue was made, and with 18 free States, as they are called, to 15 that recognized African slavery, Lincoln, at the head of a sectional party, was brought into power regularly, according to the forms of the Constitution, but upon a platform entirely subversive of it. Thus the land policy hastened the destruction of the union by unwisely calling into play political powers that were bound to throw the Federal machinery out of adjustment.

Nor is this all—it led political economists into error and induced the world to ascribe to the so-called “indomitable energy and enterprise of the New England people,” what, in the reclaiming of a wilderness, belongs really to a host of European emigrants.

Mischievous consequences are apt to flow from erroneous political assumptions. From this error influences highly prejudicial to the South have been drawn. If you will be patient with me for a little while, I think I can make this clear, and show that, for energy and industry, the South has nothing to lose in comparison with the North, but the reverse.

You know it is a common idea that the Northerners are superior to us at the South in enterprise, industry, and in wealth. The evidences of this are held to be in the great number of Northern towns, in the great population of Northern cities, and the evidences of more vigorous life and activity which attend the business of commerce and manufacturing, in comparison with the stately occupation of agriculture.

After the nation had furnished itself with food and raiment, it found itself annually possessed of two or three hundred millions worth of surplus produce; which, being thrown into the channels of commerce, was sent abroad for sale. This is to the nation what the amount and value of the crops which a farmer brings to market is to him an index of wealth. From the sale revenues are derived. Now, when we come to look at this produce and merchandize, we find that between two-thirds and three-fourths of the whole is actually the produce of Southern labor.

How, then, since the great bulk of this surplusage comes from the South, should the greatest show of wealth be at the North? It is to the consideration of this question that I invite your attention. Having given it me, I aim to convince you that the great prosperity of the North arises not from any innate virtue of the Northern people, but in a great measure from the industrial effects upon the North of this great and growing tide of emigration. It is also due in no inconsiderable degree to the free trade that it has hitherto enjoyed with the South. But I now only treat of the former.

In 1790, the population of the free States and slave States were just about equal. In round numbers, each section had two millions. Now they have, the former nineteen, the latter twelve. To what is this difference owing? Certainly to accessions from abroad, and not to natural increase; for statistics do not warrant us in assuming that there is any difference as to the ratio of natural increase in the sections.

The six slave States of 1790 have expanded into fifteen, and the seven free States of that epoch into nineteen. The difference now between them in population is about seven millions. These seven millions represent the amount by which the total number of emigrants who have settled in the North exceeds that which has settled in the South.

For the last thirty years this excess may in round numbers be taken at 200,000 a year. These emigrants chiefly belong to what may be called the laboring classes, and a body of emigrants, 200,000 strong, added annually to the population of any country, must have the effect, not only of greatly increasing the nominal wealth of such a country, but of adding vastly to its industrial capital also.

This will appear more striking if we compare the manner in which the six original slave States have reclaimed nine others from the wilderness, and expanded themselves into fifteen, with the manner of alike reclamation and expansion by the seven original free States into nineteen.

When the State of Mississippi, for instance, was to be colonized, the farmer, with his slaves, moved from Virginia and settled in Mississippi.

By this operation he added nothing to the wealth or population of the slave States as a community. He simply took from one pocket and put into the other. That's all.

But when the free State of Minnesota, for example, came to be colonized, it was settled up not by a transfer of labor and population from Massachusetts or any other Northern State, but by a positive accession of population, labor and capital from abroad. I do not mean to say that the citizens of the old free States never emigrated to the new. I simply mean to say that the emigration from abroad was sufficient to supply the place of those Northerners who did; while there was no such replacement of the settlers who went from an old slave State to a new one.

To estimate the wealth derived by the North from this source, let us go into calculation as best we may.

At the South an able-bodied negro man is held to represent an industrial capital of \$1,500; for that is the sum for which his services for life will sell in market there. Therefore, in the case supposed, we behold in the person of every able-bodied negro man, that has been taken from Virginia and carried to Mississippi, a simple transfer of industrial capital from one pocket to another of the South.

Now, the services during life of an able-bodied emigrant is worth at least as much to the North as that of the supposed negro is to the South, viz: \$1,500. But this \$1,500, instead of being taken from one free State and added to another, is a positive addition to the wealth of the North; for it has been taken from abroad, brought here and emptied into the lap of the free States.

There is still another difference between the sections which should be taken into the account, for it heightens the contrast. The labor of the Virginia slaves is lost to the South during the journey to the Mississippi. Not so with the emigrant to Minnesota. He pays with foreign money the Northern ship for bringing him over. Thus adding to Northern wealth; but the money, as well as the industrial skill and other property, which he brings from abroad, are direct contributions and positive additions to the sources of that Northern wealth and prosperity which we have been thoughtlessly ascribing to the superior energies, thrift, and prosperity of the New England population.

The industrial capital represented on the average by every man, woman and child that comes from Europe to settle in the free States and Territories of the North may, at a moderate calculation, be taken at \$750 each. Here, then, has been for the last thirty years an annual accession from abroad, to the wealth of the North, of not less than \$150,000,000, while the South had no such foreign source of supply; yet still the surplus which the South annually gave to the commerce of the country, and sent abroad, represented larger figures than these.

What was it gave San Francisco and California their great growth and prosperity? What was it that gave your Melbourne hers? Why surely not the indomitable energy of her former inhabitants, but the presence, the labor, skill and industry of those inhabitants whom the gold of those countries attracted there. Have we not had in our cheap lands, rich soils, and fine climate of the "great West," mines as attractive as those of California and Australia? Let the 200,000 or 300,000 emigrants that annually come over answer. The public lands have had just as much to do with the rapid growth, the great wealth and prosperity of the free States, as the gold mines of those countries had to do with theirs; this emigration is now to be stopped. The war will stop it, and the effects will be stopped.

This war, with its taxes and its burdens, will usurp the very foundation of the Northern wealth and prosperity, not only by putting an end to emigration, but in other ways. The Northerners are a trading people. Under the Constitution, the North enjoyed a preference in the markets of the South. A preference amounting frequently to a monopoly—a monopoly with twelve millions of consumers, for the supply of all they want is a commercial boon which few nations can lose without great suffering. With that and the draw-backs of the war, the North, with its lands, will offer few inducements to the emigrants from Europe.

The North owes no little of its apparent affluence also to the capital which foreign houses have brought from abroad and established there for the purpose of trade. As soon as it becomes certain—and soon it must to all—that free trade with the South is gone forever—that the merchants of New York and Boston, instead of having in the markets of the South a preference over the merchants of France, England and the Continent, will meet them there, in all probability, under withering discriminations—as soon, I say, as Northerners realize that, the foreign capital among them will take wings and fly away; it will either seek employment in the South or abroad certainly, but little of it will remain with the Yankees.

The Northern Congress has imposed a direct tax upon its people of \$30,000,000. Our Congress has taxed us for \$20,000,000, to pay principle and interest on our debt. We at the South cheerfully and willingly submit to this tax, and every cent of it will be promptly paid. But, mark my word, the Northern people will be slow to put their hands into their pockets for this "rail splitter," as Abe Lincoln is called. Nevertheless he may squeeze a portion of this tax out of them, but if so, it will be only a portion, and that will come with such writhings, grins and protestations, that he will never attempt to "raise the wind" again by any such process.

But when the pinching time—the pay day—does come, will not the same motives which induced his people to proclaim a "higher law," and to denounce certain provisions of the Constitution as "a covenant with hell," induce them to repudiate this debt, principal and interest, which he is now seeking to create for his wicked purposes? I cannot but think so.

Their faith was pledged to stand by the Constitution; yet, the moment they felt the Constitution operating as a restraint upon them, they violated it. Will they be more faithful to their promise to pay? Will they not, after the money is borrowed and spent, be more likely to turn upon the lenders and say, "this debt was created by a doubtful authority at best; it was created in the name of the United States when there was no longer any such government; it was created to support a war which the Constitution does not recognize—all this was known to you when you made the loan? Therefore, we won't pay." This debt, principal and interest, these Northern men will repudiate altogether, for already the war is beginning to be unpopular with the masses. Enlistments go on slowly in the North. The people are hanging back. It is worthy of remark, that almost every prisoner we have taken from them professes himself to have been deceived. He was entrapped into this war, and if he is ever permitted to reach home again, he will for one keep clear of any more such scrapes. Such is their language.

But after the public lands and the enormous influx of foreigners upon us had destroyed the checks and balances of the Government, the cry of the "irrepressible conflict" was raised in the North. Either, said their leading but deceitful statesmen, we must overrun and overturn the institutions of the South and root out slavery, or the South will impose upon us its negroes.

Upon this the Northern, or "free States," as they are called, combined; exceeding us in numbers of States and polls of people, they drew a geographical line, and formally divided the country into sections—North and South.

This act, lawfully determined, placed, according to the forms of the Constitution, the whole Federal machinery—Executive, Legislative and Judicial—in the hands of a faction formed of fanatics, and banded together for the purpose of making war upon our rights, our property and our liberties.

The end and aim of that Constitution was to "establish justice, ensure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity." The Federal machinery having fallen into such hands, and the Constitution having thus wrought out a failure, my noble, my gallant, my native State, speaking through her people, in Convention assembled, resolved to assert that precious right; which, though inalienable, and formally admitted so to be, by all the States, yet, to prevent cavil, she had, by express declaration, as I have already shown, reserved to herself, when she first joined the Federal Union. And that right was the right to withdraw from it.

And now, what has the President of this party and the leader of this faction done? President Lincoln has, by his own mere dictum and that of his lieutenants, suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*.

He has muzzled the press, and abridged the freedom of speech.

He has, without authority of law, and against the Constitution, which he is sworn to defend and support, plunged the country into war, murdered our citizens, burned our houses, and is wasting their substance.

He has, without warrant, seized unoffending citizens, and without acquainting them with the nature of their offence, has imprisoned them in loathsome dungeons.

He has set aside the civil authorities and declared martial law to rule in their stead, and under the tyrant's plea, he is proceeding to do a great many acts and things which would more become the savage and the brute.

He has sent against us an army, and provided them with manacles to bind us in his prisons. His Zouaves who fell at Manassas were equipped with halters already adjusted for our necks and the lamp-post; and first having treated medicines, drugs and surgical instruments as contraband of war, he leaves, after defeat in battle, his wounded to be cared for by us, whom he had sought to deprive of remedies. After

his defeat in the battle of Bull Run he sent neither flag to bury his dead, nor physicians to treat his wounded. In short, Lincoln and his myrmidons are preparing to enact upon us the scenes of La Vendee in the French Revolution.

Though not so mighty in numbers nor so rich in warlike supplies as the enemy, we are eight millions of people thrice armed in that our quarrel is just. Fighting for our homes we are mighty in battle. In mere lust the enemy is fighting for power and conquest—we for firesides, the graves of our fathers, dear life and all that is precious to the heart and to civilization. Our cause is holy—their's hellish. We cannot, we will not be subjugated.

The contrast is frequently drawn by our old men between the conduct of the English in the war of 1812 and the conduct of the hordes of Lincoln now. The English invaded us, but respected the property and regarded the rights of unarmed citizens. The same counties have been invaded by Lincoln. He has devastated and laid them waste, and for what? Why simply to compel us to submit to his governance. Suppose he should succeed, would not success overturn the whole fabric of the Constitution? The Republic was founded on the consent of the governed. Failing in this, it is no longer either a Republic or any other form of government that has at its foundation the will of the people. It is a tyranny. We want nothing of the North. We choose not to submit to Northern domination; we are fighting simply to be let alone, and to be permitted to govern ourselves in our own way.

To hear the Northern people talk about "fighting for the Union," "fighting for the flag," "fighting for the Constitution," &c., words without meaning—one is reminded of the tinkling brass that has sound without music.

We fight apparently at great odds, for we fight without a Navy. Still, whenever we have met the enemy in the open field, we have beat him back, though he numbered three and in some cases even five to our one against us. He has never yet been able to stand our rifle shooting or our cold steel.

The best blood in the land is in the ranks of our army. You find whole companies consisting of planters of the South, arming and equipping themselves each at his own expense, and offering their services, men and officers, without pay, for the war.

The women, from the most delicate and refined, to the most robust and humble, have united together by common consent, and formed themselves into societies for the support of the war. Free of cost, they have, with their own hands, made the clothes and the tents of the army. At their own expense they have established hospitals and become nurses for the sick and wounded.

The South presents the remarkable spectacle of an army having in its ranks the first men and best talents of the country. To subdue or conquer such an army is simply an impossibility, for its soldiers are fighting for all that makes life dear to them.

I fight with a price upon my head and a halter around my neck. Nor I alone, but every man of mark or substance among us. Lincoln's men are neither made of such stuff, for they are for the most part mere hirelings, and their armies in battle are strengthened by no such hope, and moved by no such fears as those which inspire us.

They talk of a reconstruction of the government and a reunion of the people.—Simply, and in few words, re-annexation to the British crown is more possible.

I very much desire that the friends of free government in Europe should be correctly informed as to the true state of things with us, for your information being chiefly derived through our enemies, it is of course one-sided and generally, also it is not only erroneous, but willfully mendacious. The papers at the North that plead our cause, or dare tell the truth about this war, are suppressed by Lincoln's more *sic jubeo*. A large majority of us they would have you believe are opposed to secession and this war. Saving some of the Western counties of this State, and a few in East Tennessee, I have never known the people so united upon any subject. The women if possible are more enthusiastic than the men; they are of one mind, and the clergy are as earnest as the women. In the week the clergy are, of their own free will, drilling and being drilled to arms—their churches are given up to the women, who with needles and sewing machines congregate there to make clothing for the soldiers. On Sundays, from the pulpit, the holiness of the war, and the righteousness of our cause are preached to the people. In battles you find clergymen among the foremost of the fight. We have on our side a Bishop for a general, holy Divines for colonels, majors, captains, and soldiers, in the ranks. Never was a people more united and in earnest than the people of the Confederate States are at this moment.

Yes you have heard something too of our starving, of our inability to produce bread-stuffs and provisions enough for our own use, &c. To make you believe that would be requiring you to renounce your belief in physical geography, for that shows that

within the Confederate States we have the finest of climates; our lands are unsurpassed in fertility; we are a grazing and a farming and a planting people. Educated in the South I never saw a beggar until I entered the navy and went to New York—such is the habitual abundance that the very few poor who are found among us are provided for without calling on the people for poor rates. Our Southern laws recognize no such tax. The staples of Georgia are cotton and rice, yet the census shows that, according to population, Georgia furnishes as much wheat as New York, and New York is one of the wheat growing States of the North. Never have the grain crops of the South been more abundant than they now are. The blockade of our ports—admitting it to be effectual, would not interfere with us as to any of the necessaries of life. It may cut off our supplies of tea and coffee, and the various articles of foreign merchandise that we have been accustomed to receive from abroad, but this does not amount even to a privation, for we submit to these wants as a self-denial and a discipline that is all for our good.

I see no end to this wicked and savage war as long as the arch spirits which surround Lincoln remain in power. Before and after every battle, we hold but the olive branch, demanding, simply, "LET US GO." We do not desire to subjugate or invade his people. We are simply trying to cut loose from them, and to have nothing to do with them or their institutions one way or the other. As a proof which we wished to give them and the world of our forbearance and sincerity, behold the movements of the enemy since the battle of Manassas. We have not been disposed to follow up that signal victory by a single act of invasion.

Rely upon it, the old Union is irretrievably gone, and secession is rapidly gaining ground. The thinking men in several of the free States are daily beginning to cast about for fresh compacts, for new political and social combinations; and among the new developments which the morrow may bring forth, be not surprised to see Pennsylvania, and perhaps New Jersey, seeking admission into our new Republic as one of the States of THE Confederacy.

Pennsylvania has always been clamorous for protection. The tariff that would set mills to going in New England, would not turn a wheel in Pennsylvania, and the old Government had not the power to discriminate in our markets between Pennsylvania productions and those of New England. They all stand upon the same footing. Our new Government can discriminate. If Pennsylvania be admitted, she will have free trade with us. The New England States and all other free States will be taxed for every article they bring. For they will have to pay duties. Pennsylvania not. This will transfer from all other Northern States the capital and machinery that have been employed there in manufacturing for the South, and set it down in Pennsylvania. Pennsylvania will then contain the Birminghams, and Sheffields, and Liverpools of the South. She will enjoy preference and protection also with us, in whose markets the wants of not less than fifteen millions of people will have to be supplied. With these and other advantages, Philadelphia, instead of New York, might become the great commercial emporium of America.

The bare suggestion of such a course by Pennsylvania opens up a vista that is full of thought. By that course, Pennsylvania will escape her share of the five hundred millions with which Lincoln is burdening his people, in this the first year of the war. He will require as much more the next year, and the next, and, mark the prediction, you are yet to see Pennsylvania knocking at our doors for admission into our Confederacy; for if we were to admit her she would by that means escape her quota of the Lincoln debt, and leave the other free States "the bag to hold." If Pennsylvania were to withdraw, she would separate the Eastern from the Western free States, for you observe that she with Delaware extends from the sea to the lakes. In that event, instead of one, there would be two free State Republics; indeed, before the Yankees can lay the fell spirits they have raised by this wicked war upon us, they may be divided into a dozen petty powers, for their liberties are already gone, and they will be, both they and Lincoln, completely at the mercy of the first batch of successful generals that the fortunes of war may bring into their favor. Therefore, tell your countrymen from me to think twice, and look long at their sovereigns, before they touch either the loan, the bonds, or the paper of that concern.

With the friendship and esteem of other days, my dear Admiral, yours truly,

M. F. MAURY, C. NAVY.

Admiral Robert Fitz Roy, R. N., Meteorological Department,
Board of Trade and Admiralty, London.

ADDRESS OF HON. JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE

TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY.

TO THE PEOPLE OF KENTUCKY:

By your representatives in the last Legislature you conferred on me the commission of Senator in the Congress of the United States. In March last, when my term of service began, the Union had been dissolved by the withdrawal of seven States; which the policy of coercion has since increased to twelve States. At that time a majority of the people of Kentucky still cherished the hope of a peaceful reunion. Soon afterwards, when the Government at Washington commenced that series of usurpations which has now left nothing of the Federal Constitution, and resolved on a war of subjugation against the withdrawing States to secure union and brotherhood, you determined to take no part in the war, but to protect your liberties by a position of armed neutrality. This decision was expressed by a large majority of the people at the election in May.

I had opposed this policy before the election, but afterwards, in common with the great mass of those with whom I had acted, I acquiesced in your expressed will, and have maintained it as the fixed attitude of Kentucky. In obedience, as I suppose, to your wishes, I proceeded to Washington, and at the special session of Congress, in July, spoke and voted against the whole war policy of the President and Congress; demanding, in addition, for Kentucky, the right to refuse not men only, but money also to the war, for I would have blushed to meet you with the confession that I had purchased for you exemption from the perils of the battlefield, and the shame of waging war against your Southern brethren by hiring others to do the work you shrank from performing. During that memorable session, a very small body of Senators and Representatives, even beneath the shadow of a military despotism, resisted the usurpations of the Executive, and with what degree of dignity and firmness, they willingly submit to the judgment of the world.

Their efforts were unavailing—yet they may prove valuable hereafter as another added to former examples of manly protest against the progress of tyranny.

On my return to Kentucky, at the close of the late special session of Congress, it was my purpose immediately to resign the office of Senator. The verbal and written remonstrances of many friends in different parts of the State induced me to postpone the execution of my purpose, but the time has arrived to carry it into effect, and accordingly I now hereby return the trust into your hands.

And in this connection, since the Government at Washington has thrown a drag-net over the whole surface of society, to collect proof against individuals of connection with the Government of the Confederate States, and since a portion of the Northern press has charged that certain private correspondence, recently seized at Philadelphia by the Federal authorities, will convict me of political crimes, I deem it due to you and to myself to declare that I have not done or said anything inconsistent with the relations I have borne to the State and to the Federal Government, or which could reflect a stain upon the commission which I now surrender.

I do not resign because I think I have misrepresented you. On the contrary, I believe that my votes and speeches in the Senate have expressed your deliberate will as attested through the ballot-box. I resign because there is no place left where a Southern Senator may sit in council with the Senators of the North. In truth, there is no longer a Senate of the United States within the meaning and spirit of the Constitution.

The United States no longer exists. The Union is dissolved. For a time after the withdrawal of the Southern States, and while there was a hope that the rupture might be healed, it might be assumed that the Union was not yet dissolved, and such was the position of Kentucky in declaring her neutrality and offering her

mediation between the contending parties. But time has now elapsed, and mighty events have occurred, which banish from the minds of all reasonable men all expectation of restoring the Union. Coercion has been tried and has failed. The South has mustered in the field nearly as many combatants as the North, and has been far more victorious. The fields of Manassas and Bethel, of Springfield and Lexington, have worked with a sanguinary line the division between the old order of things and the new.

It is the right of Kentucky and her peculiar duty to recognize these great facts and to act on them. The constitutional compact which created and upheld the old Union is at an end. A large number of the original and additional parties have withdrawn from it. So large a number that its stipulations can no longer be executed, and under such circumstances no court has ever decided a contract to be binding between the remaining parties, or attempted to enforce its execution. The Constitution requires positively that each State shall have at least one representative in Congress, but now twelve States have none; that each State shall have two Senators, but now twelve States have none; that all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States, but now in more than one-third of them none are or can be collected. Commerce cannot be regulated between the respective States. Uniform rules of naturalization and bankruptcy cannot be adopted. Post-offices and post-roads, in nearly half the States have been given up, and a preference is given to the ports of one State over those of another. Even the election of a President has become impossible.

The Constitution is mandatory on all the States to appoint electors, and requires a majority of the latter to elect; but more than one-third of the States refuse to appoint, and hence no election can be made by the people. If the election goes to the House of Representatives, the Constitution requires that at least two-thirds of the States shall be represented in that body. The Constitution can no longer be amended; for it requires three-fourths of the States to concur, and more than one-third of the States have withdrawn from the Confederacy. All the safeguards provided for by the States in the instrument, still further to secure public and personal liberty, have been destroyed. The three departments of the Federal Government, which were carefully separated and their boundaries defined, have been merged into one, and the President, sustained by a great army, wields unlimited power.

The exemption of persons from arrest without judicial warrant, the right of a citizen to have his body brought before a judge to determine the legality of his imprisonment, the security provided against searches and seizure without warrant or law, the sanctity of the home, the trial by jury, the freedom of speech and of the press—these and every other precious right which our fathers supposed they had locked up in the Constitution have been torn from it and buried beneath the heel of military power. The States made the Constitution, placed rigid boundaries around that Government, and expressly reserved to themselves all powers not delegated. They did not delegate to the Federal Government the power to destroy them—yet the creature has set itself above the creator. The atrocious doctrine is announced by the President and acted upon that the States derive their power from the Federal Government, and may be suppressed on any pretence of military necessity. The gallant little State of Maryland has been utterly abolished. Missouri is engaged in a heroic struggle to preserve her existence and to throw off the horrors of martial law proclaimed by a subordinate military commander. Everywhere the civil has given way to the military power. The fortresses of the country are filled with victims seized without warrant of law, and ignorant of the cause of their imprisonment.

The legislators of States, and other public officers, are seized while in the discharge of their official duties, taken beyond the limits of their respective States and imprisoned in the forts of the Federal Government. A subservient Congress ratifies the usurpations of the President, and proceeds to complete the destruction of the Constitution. History will declare that the annals of legislation do not contain laws so infamous as those enacted at the last session. They sweep away every vestige of public and personal liberty, while they confiscate the property of a nation containing ten millions of people. In the House of Representatives it was declared that the South should be reduced to "abject submission," or their institutions be overthrown. In the Senate it was said that, if necessary the South should be depopulated and re-peopled from the North, and an eminent Senator expressed a desire that the President should be made a dictator. This was superfluous, since they had already clothed him with dictatorial powers. In the midst of these proceedings, no plea for the Constitution is listened to in the North; here and there a

few heroic voices are feebly heard protesting against the progress of despotism, but for the most part, beyond the military lines, mobs and anarchy rule the hour.

The great mass of the Northern people seem anxious to sunder every safeguard of freedom; they eagerly offer to the Government what no European monarch would dare to demand. The President and his Generals are unable to pick up the liberties of the people as rapidly as they are thrown at their feet. The world will view with amazement this sudden and total overthrow of a Constitution which, if respected, might have been the boast and safeguard of the United States for many generations. When the historian comes to investigate the cause of this result, he will record the fact that no department of the Federal Government has ever exhibited a case of aggression by the Southern States upon their Northern associates, and he will trace the dismemberment to the ignorance or disregard upon the part of the latter, of the true principles of a confederacy, to long-continued and flagrant violations of the Constitution, to avarice, fanaticism and general corruption. Against all these usurpations I protested in your name, in the presence of their authors, and at the seat of their powers. I protested in vain, and never again will I meet in council with the usurpers.

And now, fellow-citizens, I am sure you will pardon me if I add a few words in reference to the condition of our State and my own course. The Constitution of the United States has been destroyed, and by no act of Kentucky. The power she delegated in that instrument to the Federal Government had vested to her, and any exercise of power over her by that Government without her consent is usurpation. In the wreck of the Federal system, she exists an independent commonwealth, with the right to choose her own destiny. She may join the North. She may join the South. She may poise herself on her own centre, and be neutral. In every form by which you could give direct expression to your will, you declared for neutrality. A large majority of the people, at the May and August elections, voted for the neutrality and peace of Kentucky. The press, the public speakers, the candidates, with exceptions in favor of the Government at Washington so rare as not to need mention, planted themselves on this position. You voted for it, and you meant it. You were promised it, and you expected it. The minority acquiesced in good faith, and at home and abroad this was recognized as the fixed position of the State. It was taken at the beginning of hostilities, and it is but reasonable to infer that every subsequent act of outrage by the Washington Government has confirmed your original purpose. Look now at the condition of Kentucky; and see how your expectations had been realized—how these promises had been redeemed.

First, by the aid of some citizens of the State, arms belonging to the whole people were illegally and secretly introduced by order of the President and distributed to one class of our people upon the false pretence that they needed them for protection against their own fellow-citizens. This was the first violation.

Next, Federal military officers began to recruit soldiers and establish camps in our midst, and Federal money was lavishly expended, in the hope to demoralize and corrupt the people. A studied system of deception was practised as long as possible on the people. For a time it was denied that they were Federal camps, and it was said that they were merely voluntary assemblies of Kentuckians for their own protection and that of the State. These monstrous falsehoods have since been freely exposed. This was the second violation.

Previous to those events the State was in a condition of tranquility and peace. No indications existed anywhere of internal disorder. But now the people, becoming alarmed at these proofs of a purpose to force Kentucky into the war, began to assemble in great mass-meetings and to demand loudly the promised neutrality. The Washington Government, however, and its abettors in Kentucky, supposing their schemes to be ripe for execution, now resolved to have what they called "active loyalty." About this time the Legislature met, and the drama there moved rapidly on. The camps were avowed to be Federal camps. The guns which had been clandestinely and illegally introduced, now called out to maintain "active loyalty." Federal officers began to swarm among us. Every appliance of corruption, every allurement of ambition, was brought into play.

Presently a Federal army was in possession of large portions of the State, and the conspiracy stood fully revealed, while the people, whose only error had been their generous credulity, stood thoroughly betrayed. It is known to citizens of Louisville, of all parties, that just before that meeting of the Legislature, a member of the Washington cabinet, said to a prominent citizen of Kentucky that the position of the State should not be maintained, that the Government preferred hostility to neutrality, and that Kentucky must be compelled to support the Federal Gov-

ernment in the war. Your wishes, fellow-citizens, had been spurned and you have been thrown into this vortex by the Government at Washington, aided by their Kentucky sympathizers.

The pretended reason for the military occupation of the State, founded on the occupation of Columbus by Confederate troops, is uncandid and false. For besides the fact that the invasion of Kentucky was a foregone conclusion at Washington, and that camps of soldiers were under arms in our midst to invade Tennessee, it is notorious that General Grant left Cairo to seize Paducah before the occupation of Columbus, while in taking the latter place the Confederate troops anticipated the Federal troops by less than an hour. For further proof of the insincerity of the false clamor about the invasion from Tennessee, the Confederate commander announced to your authorities that he occupied Columbus purely in self-defence, and stood ready at any moment to withdraw simultaneously with the Federal forces. To say that the Washington Government had a right to invade the State is to say that you had no right to be neutral, and to submit to the invasion from a power which has effaced every vestige of the Constitution, would be to bow in the dust and surrender to a simple despotism.

It is not necessary to say much about the Legislature. A majority of them, instead of protecting the rights and persons of the citizens, have either voluntarily or under duress been engaged in sustaining the usurpations of the Federal Government, in passing bills of pains and penalties to terrify a spirited people into servitude, in depriving the Governor of his just constitutional authority, and in abdicating their share of the Government by formally inviting a Federal military force to take possession of the State, well knowing as they did that this military force would supersede the State Government. Of that body nearly one-fourth have retired because of the military occupation of the State and the seizure, imprisonment, pursuit and exile of many of the most eminent and patriotic citizens of the State by that military force. The voice of these members can no longer be heard in the councils of the State, nor their votes be taken. The Legislature is thus, to say the least of it, a mutilated department of the State Government.

It is true that there remains a sufficient number for a quorum, but are they free? For when the Federal Government takes military possession of a State, its Legislature must conform to the will of the military chief or be suppressed, as we have recently seen in the case of Missouri, whose State Government was dispersed and martial law proclaimed; and still later, in the case of Maryland, when thirty-eight members of the Legislature were seized and imprisoned on the mere suspicion of intending to legislate at variance with the will of the military Government. We cannot, therefore, know that the public resolutions or pretended laws of the two bodies are the declarations of their active will, because we have the strongest reason to believe that, if not in accordance with the will of the Government at Washington, they would meet the fate of the Legislatures of Missouri and Maryland. On the other hand, we know that these resolutions and laws are in conflict with their public pledge, and with the expectations of the people.

It is more charitable to believe that the members at Frankfort, or a majority of them, are actuated by a fear of military force, rather than by a perverse design to violate the will of their constituents, and degrade the State to the condition to which it is attempted to bring down Missouri and Maryland. If anything were wanting to strengthen this view, it will be found in attendant events. The resolutions they adopted on the 8th of September, sanctioning the entrance of General Anderson's forces, were accompanied by one declaring that no person should be touched in his life, liberty or property on account of his political opinions. Yet, on the very day, I believe, that these resolutions passed, the agents of the General Government seized the printing establishment of the Louisville "*Courier*," the only offence of whose proprietor was, that he criticised with freedom the usurpations of the Government at Washington. At the same time, and ever since, citizens of Kentucky have been imprisoned or compelled to fly from their homes and families, against whom there was no accusation but of holding opinions either unfriendly to Mr. Lincoln's Government or friendly to neutrality. It is impossible to suppose that a free Kentucky Legislature, in view of recent proceedings in other States, would have turned this State over to the possession of a Federal military force, or betrayed the people by throwing the State into the arms of Mr. Lincoln, to be used for Southern subjugation, or consented to the suppression of the press, or suffered, without an outcry that would have pierced the skies, the indignities and outrages which have been inflicted upon the people by Federal soldiers.

Fellow-citizens, you have to do now, not with this fragment of a Legislature, with its treason bills and tax bills, with its woeful ssubserviency to every demand of the Federal despotism, and its woeful neglect of every right of the Kentucky citizen; but you have to deal with a power which respects neither Constitution nor laws, and which, if successful, will reduce you to the condition of prostrate and bleeding Maryland. Gen. Anderson, the military dictator of Kentucky, announces in one of his proclamations that he will arrest no one who does not act, write *or speak* in opposition to Mr. Lincoln's Government. It would have completed the idea if he had added, or *think* in opposition to it. Look at the condition of our State under the rule of our new protectors. They have suppressed the freedom of speech and of the press. They seize people by military force upon mere suspicion, and impose upon them oaths unknown to the laws. Other citizens they imprison without warrant, and carry them out of the State, so that the writ of *habeas corpus* cannot reach them.

Every day foreign armed bands are making seizures among the people. Hundreds of citizens, old and young, venerable magistrates, whose lives have been distinguished by the love of the people, have been compelled to fly from their homes and families to escape imprisonment and exile at the hands of Northern and German soldiers, under the orders of Mr. Lincoln and his subordinates. While yet holding an important political trust, confided by Kentucky, I was compelled to leave my home and family, or suffer imprisonment and exile. If it is asked why I did not meet the arrest and seek a trial, my answer is, that I would have welcomed an arrest to be followed by a judge and jury; but you well know that I could not have secured these constitutional rights. I would have been transported beyond the State, to languish in some Federal fortress during the pleasure of the oppressor. Witness the fate of Morehead and his Kentucky associates in their distant and gloomy prison.

The case of the gentleman just mentioned is an example of many others, and it meets every element in a definition of despotism. If it should occur in England, it would be righted, or it would overturn the British Empire. He is a citizen and native of Kentucky. As a member of the Legislature, Speaker of the House, representative in Congress from the Ashland District, and Governor of the State, you have known, trusted and honored him, during a public service of a quarter of a century. He is eminent for his ability, his amiable character, and his blameless life. Yet this man, without indictment, without warrant, without accusation, but by the order of President Lincoln, was seized at midnight, in his own house, and in the midst of his family—was led through the streets of Louisville, as I am informed, with his hands crossed and pinioned before him, was carried out of the State and district, and now lies a prisoner in a fortress in New York harbor, a thousand miles away. Do you think that any free Legislature assembled in Kentucky since the days of Charles Scott and Isaac Shelby, until now, would have permitted such a spectacle to dishonor the State? No! Fellow-citizens, the Legislature could not have been free!

I would speak of these things with the simple solemnity which their magnitude demands, yet it is difficult to restrain the expression of a just indignation while we smart under such enormities. Mr. Lincoln has thousands of soldiers on our soil, nearly all from the North, and most of them foreigners, whom he employs as his instruments to do these things. But few Kentuckians have enlisted under his standard, for we are not yet accustomed to his peculiar form of liberty.

I will not pursue the disgraceful subject. Has Kentucky passed out of the control of her own people? Shall hirelings of the pen, recently imported from the North, sitting in grand security at the capitol, force public opinion to approve these usurpations and point out victims? Shall Mr. Lincoln, through his German mercenaries, imprison or exile the children of the men who laid the foundations of the Commonwealth, and compel our noble people to exhaust themselves in furnishing the money to destroy their own freedom? Never, while Kentucky remains the Kentucky of old—never, while thousands of her gallant sons have the will and the nerve to make the State sing to the music of their rifles!

The Constitution of the United States, which these invaders unconstitutionally swear every citizen whom they unconstitutionally seize to support, has been wholly abolished. It is as much forgotten as if it lay away back in the twilight of history. The facts I have enumerated show that the very rights most carefully reserved by it to States and to individuals, have been most conspicuously violated. And this destruction has been accomplished, not by the President alone, but by the Congress also, and with the approval of the Northern States and people. They

have deliberately made the contest a constitutional struggle between so many millions on the one side and so many on the other—one party fighting for subjugation, the other in self-defence and for independence. Whatever may be the future relations of the two confederacies, the idea of the restoration of the Union under the old Constitution is wholly visionary and delusive. If the North should conquer the South, (which it will perceive to be impossible after a few hundred millions more shall be expended and a few hundred thousand lives lost,) the character of the Government would be radically changed. It would probably not take the form even of a mixed government, but would soon end in a military despotism. It would soon become apparent to all thoughtful men that the last hope of constitutional liberty lies in the early recognition of these great truths—in an honorable peace and friendly intercourse.

You declared your purpose not to engage in the war to subdue the South, and that you would be neutral, and mediate in the interests of peace when an opportunity should offer. This is the recorded will of the State as expressed by the people. But those who assume to represent you have violated that will. They have attempted to burden you with enormous taxes to prosecute a war you abhor, and to sustain a government which has trampled under foot every safeguard of a Constitution which was the only bond of our political connection with it, while they have allowed that Government to cut you off from the only avenues of trade which would enable you to pay these taxes. They have invited a military force of that Government to take possession of the State, and practically supersede the State Government, and they have seen, with complacency, these foreign soldiers seize, imprison and pursue hundreds of your fellow-citizens—fugitives, without a crime—over the plains and mountains of Kentucky. In a word, they have attempted, without consulting you, and against your recorded wishes, to place you in active hostility to your Southern brethern, and to fix your political destiny with the North.

Whatever may be the condition or motives of the members at Frankfort, they have exceeded their authority. No legislative assembly or other body, other than one elected by your sovereign voice for that purpose, has the right, in this great revolution, to determine finally your political future. The people, although taken by surprise, and almost unarmed, have risen to vindicate their wishes, and expel the Northern invaders. The eagerness with which their aid has been invoked by those who have plunged the State into her present unhappy condition, is the strongest proof of their condition that but for the presence of these soldiers, the action of the members at Frankfort would be repudiated by the people. When the Northern invaders shall be sent back across the Ohio river—when the State shall be relieved of all troops from abroad, and the people of Kentucky, by a fair election, shall determine their destiny, it will be the clear duty of every citizen to acquiesce or to retire from the State.

For those who, denied by the Legislature the protection due to the humblest citizen, have been delivered over to the tender mercies of foreign mercenaries, and hunted like partridges on the mountains, what remains but imprisonment, exile or resistance? As one of them, I intend to resist. I will avoid conflict with Kentuckians, except in necessary self-defence, but I will unite with my fellow citizens to resist the invaders who have driven us from our homes. To this course we are impelled by the highest sense of duty, and the irresistible instincts of manhood. To defend your birthright and mine, which is more precious than domestic ease, or property, or life, I exchange, with proud satisfaction, a term of six years in the Senate of the United States, for the musket of a soldier.

This letter is written at the first moment since my expulsion from home that I place my feet upon the soil of Kentucky. I have not been able to see or communicate with my friend and colleague, Gov. Powell, nor do I know what course he will think it proper to take. But this you and I know—that his conduct will be controlled by pure motives. Your fellow-citizen,

JOHN C. BRECKINRIDGE.

BOWLING GREEN, KY., Oct. 8, 1861.

PUBLISHED AT "THE SOUTH" OFFICE,
122 Baltimore Street.

EX-GOV. LOWE'S LETTER

TO THE

VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

The following letter was transmitted by Ex-Gov. Lowe to the Virginia Legislature and 5000 copies of the same ordered to be printed.

ASHLAND, VA., December 16th, 1861.

SIR:—I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 14th instant, and the resolution of the House of delegates of Virginia inviting me to occupy one of the privileged seats on the floor of the Hall.—I thank you sincerely for the kind and cordial manner in which you were pleased to inform me of the distinguished honor conferred upon me by the enlightened and patriotic body over which you preside; and I beg you to assure the House that I earnestly appreciate this delicate and generous expression of its approbation and good will. Although the resolution conveys a high compliment personal to myself (for which I am the more grateful, inasmuch as I feel that it exceeds my actual merits,) I am nevertheless, perfectly sensible that the great purpose of the representatives of the people of Virginia, in adopting this resolution, was to show to the world how deeply they sympathize with the loyal sons of Maryland in the severe tribulations which Divine Providence has sent upon them to try their faith and to chasten their affections. Whilst bowed down to the earth in their great agony, and driven almost to despair by that “hope deferred which maketh the heart sick,” the people of Maryland are not unmindful of another salutary purpose which the Great Disposer of events may contemplate in thus subjecting them for a time to the fiery ordeal of Northern despotism and cruelty.

If Maryland had entered the Southern Confederacy eight months ago, she would have brought with her a comparatively small but exceedingly vicious class of men, whose corruption would have secretly festered in the body politic, and ultimately, perhaps, have caused its decay. On the 19th of last April, many of these men were ready to hail the Southern banner if convinced of its power. The events of the past six months have unmasked those servile camp followers of the Northern despot, and placed between them and the true men of the State a gulf which must ever remain impassable. It is distinctly understood now that one or the other of those hostile classes must occupy and possess the State, to the exclusion of the other, whenever the final issue shall have been made by an appeal to arms. As I cannot doubt what the result of that conflict will be, I feel no hesitation in predicting that Maryland, like Kentucky and Missouri, will come into the great conservative republic of the South, purified of the social and political contaminations which were brought upon a noble race of men by the money-seeking emigrants from the land of agrarian fanaticism and sordid passion.

Maryland will become again the home of the cavaliers, as she was before the mirror of her chivalry was dimmed by the breath of the mammon-worshippers. Even now the shores of Virginia are crowded with exiled

men, who represent the ancient historical loyalty of their race, and at this hour, down by the bright waters of the Chesapeake, and along the beautiful banks of the Potomac, there are thousands of mansions, great and small, where Marylanders keep alive the high spirit and cultivate the genial domestic virtues of their renowned ancestry. The taint of Northern pelf and the ulcers of Northern Red Republican demagoguism will rapidly vanish as the old State passes through the furnace of affliction into which she has been cast by Lincoln, with a fiercer rage than that of the idolatrous Nebuchadnezzar.

Hence it is, sir, that, drawing much consolation from this faith, we strive to mitigate the vigor of our exile, and to stifle the sorrow which rises in our hearts as we listen to the wail of our suffering friends, borne to our ears upon every breeze that crosses the Potomac, and salutes the Confederate flag. We have never permitted ourselves to doubt that that flag will, at the proper time, be advanced to the rescue of our people from their cruel thralldom. I speak what I know when I say that, despite the insolent mockeries of the Lincoln ballot-box in Maryland, held by perjured serfs and upheld by their master's bayonets; despite the cringing falsehood of official demagogues and the purchased testimony of a recreant and suborned executive; despite the clamor of a subsidised press and the pusillanimity of the mammon-worshippers—there has always been in our noble State an overwhelming majority of the people hostile to the Northern despot, and devotedly attached to the cause of Southern independence and constitutional liberty. And now, after the bitter experiences of the last half year, it is certain, beyond all peradventure, that the actual adherents of the Northern Government do not amount to a tithe of the population.

Fraud, intimidation, violence, threats of confiscation, imprisonment, the continued pressure of arrogant military rule, petty official persecution, the temptations of patronage, and all other base means so familiar to tyrants, have been used with a zeal worthy of a less infamous cause, to extort from the people of Maryland an expression of "loyalty to the Union," as they still persist in characterizing the decayed remains of the old Government: and yet, their bastiles are filled to repletion with Maryland martyrs; and they dare not for one instant withdraw from her soil the armed mercenaries, who, in their imbecile terror, stand guard at the doors of rebel women and arrest rebel boys for wearing the obnoxious colors of the Southern flag, more terrible to the tyrant's minions than anything on earth except the Southern steel which glittered around that flag on an hundred fields of victory. No! They well understand that Maryland is at heart a "rebel," as she was in '76; and they remember the history of her deeds and the fate of her tories.

It would be an act of supererogation in me to undertake a detailed explanation of the causes which led to this temporary subjugation of Maryland. It is due to her, however, that I should briefly allude to certain prominent facts.

I am perfectly convinced that she would have left the old Union immediately, had North Carolina and Virginia gone out when the cotton States seceded. Her executive had not the manhood to oppose a revolution which he feared and hated, until he was surrounded by Northern bayonets. Cowering under the storm of popular indignation, he went into Monument square on the afternoon of the memorable 19th of April last, whilst the blood of the heroic youths of Baltimore, who had scornfully driven out of their city twelve hundred armed abolitionists from Massachusetts, was still fresh upon the pavements, and there called God to witness his loyalty to the South, and prayed that his arm might rot from the socket if he ever raised it against his Southern brethren.

Such a man, as we well know, would not have dared to lift his finger against secession in the month of February last. It was, however, geo-

graphically and politically impossible for Maryland to join the cotton States whilst other great States, lying between her and the new Confederacy, remained even nominally in union with the North. The delay from December to April was fatal to her; and that delay was beyond her control. Lincoln then came into power, with his navy threatening the bay and rivers which penetrate the State at every vital point, and with his army gathering its mighty columns from the North, professedly for the protection of the Federal Capital, but in reality, as we have since witnessed, for the invasion of Virginia. Maryland had no arms, no ammunition, no military organization. Her false-hearted Governor had purposely left her in a defenceless condition, in order that he might, without peril to himself, deliver her up, at the suitable time, to be crucified, and receive his thirty pieces of silver as the price of his unspeakable treachery.

Then as now, she required only arms, ammunition, and thirty days to organize her rural population. Had she been so fortunate as to have had her lot cast south of the Potomac, she would have accomplished her redemption long ago. Being the only highway from the North to the Federal Capital, her subjugation of course became a political and military necessity with the Northern people; and as she was separated by a wide river from her Southern brethren, and was wholly without expectation of early assistance from any quarter, it became evident that her effort to resist invasion, however gallant and determined, would have resulted in certain defeat, and the consequent destruction of Baltimore city, which contains two-fifths of her whole population, and nearly all of her commercial capital and enterprise.

Baltimore then had less than thirty-five hundred rifles and muskets, ten or a dozen small field pieces, and not one cannon to defend the approaches to the city. She was surrounded by the flower of the hostile army, and cut off from all support. After the 19th of April, Philadelphia and New York clamored for her destruction, under the mask of patriotism, though in reality instigated altogether by the intense hatred engendered by a long standing commercial rivalry. Many loyal and gallant men refused to precipitate so unequal a contest, to be followed by such inevitable and calamitous results. They would have been willing to have carried the State out of the Union in February, or even March, but in April and May they believed it to be impracticable, unless at the sacrifice of everything which constituted the material power of the State. They believed that time would afford an opportunity for the accomplishment of the great purpose, without demanding such a price as the destruction of their commercial emporium.

Nevertheless, these loyal and gallant men were at all times ready to bring a blackened ruin into the Southern Confederacy, rather than to purchase immunity at the cost of public virtue and private honor; rather than to wear the flowers and jewels of oriental slavery. They have always been ready to decide between these alternatives, whenever necessarily and definitely presented. At this moment with outstretched arms, they stand upon their desecrated hearthstones, crying out to their Southern brethren to give them an opportunity to pronounce this decision on the field of battle. They do not ask for men to fight the battle of freedom on their own soil. They ask only for arms and ammunition, and that the tyrant's hand may be taken from their throat until they can rally their people from mountain and valley. Then, with the courage of the old "Maryland line," and the benediction of a just God, they will be able to carve out and defend their liberties with their own swords. They are willing to accept annihilation as the penalty of failure.

God knows they love the sunny South as dearly as any son of the Palmetto State. They idolize the chivalric honor, the stern and refined idea of free government, the social dignity and conservatism which characterize the Southern mind and heart, as enthusiastically as those of their Southern

brethren who were born where the snows never fall. They offer their brave hearts and sturdy arms for all future time to be the impregnable defence of the most dangerous frontier. They will cheerfully bear the burden of such a position of ever-beginning and never-ending harassment. They will face the insolent rivalry of Philadelphia and New York, and Baltimore shall trample it under her foot. They will guard the approaches to the Potomac and seal up the gaps of the Alleghanies. They will secure to you the full control of the glorious Chesapeake, whereupon to float the future navies of your Confederacy. They will, hand in hand and heart to heart with Virginia, stand as a dreaded sentinel on the northernmost rampart of the young republic.

Maryland and Virginia together possess the Chesapeake and Potomac. They jointly hold the great railroad which unites Baltimore city to Wheeling and Parkersburg. They are the proprietors of the wealth of the Alleghanies; the boundless coal-fields; the stupendous ship timber; the inexhaustible beds of iron ore. They have the same soil and production; the same climate, mountains and valleys; the same great water courses and water powers; the same popular manners, habits and energies, and, we may say, the same people; for they are bound closely together by the ties of consanguinity and holy wedlock. "Whom God hath joined together, let not man put asunder!"

Maryland is indispensable to Virginia in many ways. Without the Eastern Shore of Maryland, how would you hold the Eastern Shore of Virginia? Without Baltimore city and its great railroad, how can you make it the interest of Western Virginia to shake off the foul embrace of the invader? That public work is essential to the development of the wealth of the mountain counties, and the manufacturing industry of Wheeling is but the handmaid of the commercial enterprise of Baltimore. To give up Maryland would in fact be to assume the herculean labor of conquering Northwestern Virginia not by love and community of interest, but by the red vengeance of the sword.

But why should I address such arguments to the venerable State which has conducted the sons of freedom in two revolutionary struggles for independence? I will appeal rather to her magnanimous love of all that is great and good, and to her generous sympathy for those who are "persecuted for justice sake." I cannot doubt that Virginia will be ever true and steadfast in supporting the cause of her oppressed sister.

Maryland is also of priceless importance to the whole South. She will bring with her a rich dowry! Her vast mineral stores, her fertile lands, salubrious climate, noble waters, and stupendous public works, are so many golden streams of wealth converging to the greatest of all the Southern cities. She will add nearly a million to the population of the Southern Republic—a million of brave men and fair women!

Here again I cast aside every appeal to interest, and will rely altogether upon the high-hearted instincts of honor and manhood which distinguish the Southern nation. No State of the South can steel its soul against the land of Calvert and Carroll. Marylanders believe that such are the sentiments of the people of the South, and that they will inspire and direct the policy of the trusted leaders of this second war of independence. With this strong faith in our hearts, we will patiently abide the decrees of Providence.

I have the honor to be your obedient servant and friend,

E. LOUIS LOWE.

HON. JAMES L. KEMPER, Speaker House of Delegates of Virginia.

A D D R E S S
OF
GEORGE N. SANDERS
TO THE
DEMOCRACY OF THE NORTHWEST.

NASHVILLE, JANUARY 8, 1862.

To the Democratic Masses of the Mississippi Valley, North:—

Was the spirit of genuine Republican Liberty burnt out of you by the Wide-Awake fires? Is the wine of your blood turned to water, your muscle to blubber, your brain to pulp—are you resolved into inorganic matter, to be quickened into a meaner life by the higher law inspiration of fanatics and usurpers? If of your former selves, and the historic glories of your party, memory alone remain, you must stand aghast at your present imbecile and stultified position.

By your freshly chosen delegates at your county towns, at your State capitals, at Charleston, at Baltimore, in solemn convention assembled—by your Senators and Representatives in Congress—by your meetings in mass everywhere, by your representative orators, and by your press, you pledged yourselves, with all the forms known to civilization giving solemnity to popular action, to stand by your allies of the South as a band of brothers. And after the triumph of your enemies, the enemies of constitutional rights, you made your resolves if possible still more earnest, by reiterating them in as many and as imposing forms, as well as by defiant proclamations to the Northern Saracen, that he would have to trample on your sacrificed bodies before he could pass on to Southern soil. And are these high resolves to stand for naught?

I look to you alone, pushing aside recreant leaders, to preserve to your unfortunate country anything of constitutional liberty out of the anarchy into which the Lincoln Government has thrown your Constitution, laws and trade. The men you most honored and trusted had not, with a few memorable exceptions, the virtue and intelligence to resist at the outset the Lincoln usurpation, but for the most part gave way, and very many strove to out-Herod the most fanatical Wide-Awakers in their outrages on the Constitution and the rights of the people. They hoped by such shallow trickery to be able to lead the unlicensed war party of the North.

The capitalists and self styled conservatives of your great Atlantic cities have betrayed the confidence your generosity reposed in their direction of your interests in the late Presidential canvass. These mere money-making machines never had any sympathy with or appreciation of republican liberty, and it is not surprising that they rejoiced at the first gleam of a sword Government, and arrogantly believe that if their ill-gotten dollars had not sufficient power to subjugate your old allies and co-disciples—the States-Right men of the South—they had the strength to establish at least a police government over yourselves, through which labor would become absolutely the bond-slave of capital. “We will make the South acknowledge that we have a government over her, and power to enforce our edicts,” was

the concerted, suppressive cry of these men from the outset, to drown your honest voice of indignation. And while the only practical effect of this Wall street war-whoop has been to make yourselves feel the iron heel of the worst of military despotisms, the power of your Union is neither felt nor respected beyond the military lines of the rail-splitting Generals.

In this the Northern Republican managers have proved the weakest and most supercilious agents that ever before directed State affairs. There is not another government or people on the earth that would not have listened to such a protest as came up from the South, by State action and by their Senators and Representatives in Congress.

The madmen wanted to exhibit to the world a strong, unbending, uncompromising Government, capable of asserting and maintaining its power everywhere in these States, as if they would excel in this particular as a model, the Governments of Russia and Austria. Blinded and maddened by the mere waving of a flag, as a bull by the bandera of the matador, you swell the crafty contractor's armies, unthinking that you are the victims of a system that is sapping your political rights. You have but to open your eyes to see that this is a war of capital against labor. Reckon the high rate of interest and the downward prices of everything that labor produces, and you will soon comprehend that you are in danger of becoming the powerless Sampsons of the money-shaving Delilahs.

Contrast your present condition with what it would have been had the Republican managers listened to the warning voice of the South. As splendid as was the year 1860, '61 would have rivalled it, and '62 with its three or four hundred millions of cotton, tobacco, sugar, rice, and naval stores, would have made you the richest and most independent nation known to commerce; and to-day the balance sheet of the money changers of the world would be kept in New York.

In the entire South you see scarcely any manufactures, except from Northern workshops. European wares are almost unknown because of the Federal prohibitory tariffs. Wait but a nation's hour; the blockade opens, and these things are all reversed. Our less shackled trade with Europe will at once swell our exports to five hundred millions of dollars, and our warehouses will become the depots of luxuries and substantial productions of the world, at prices within the reach of moderate but well paid labor. You will thus be able to furnish yourselves by the "Father of Waters" with the world's choicest productions at twenty-five per cent. less than the Yankees now charge you under the Morrill Tariff.

You have immense supplies of breadstuffs, meat, and provisions, at present of little value to you; wisdom might suggest the retention and warehousing of these supplies along the Ohio valley to await our rich markets soon to be open to you. I clip from a Nashville morning paper the prices current of a few leading articles:

Bacon	-	-	-	-	-	25 cts. per lb.
Pork	-	-	-	-	-	10 " "
Flour	-	-	-	-	-	\$8.00 per bbl.
Wheat	-	-	-	-	-	1.40 per bus.
Whiskey	-	-	-	-	-	1.00 per gal.
Leather	-	-	-	-	-	75 cts. per lb.
Potatoes	-	-	-	-	-	\$1.00 per bus.

NEW ORLEANS, 28th Dec.

Pork, mess	-	-	-	-	-	\$44 per bbl.
Beef	-	-	-	-	-	30 " "
Flour	-	-	-	-	-	10 " "
Potatoes	-	-	-	-	-	5 " "
Pig Iron	-	-	-	-	-	40 " ton.

Look at your own prices current and see what you are paying for cotton,

tobacco, sugar, rice, and naval stores, and reflect that we have on hand of these staple articles, at the prices you are now paying, at least seven hundred millions value to exchange with you. For the abstract idea of the negro's equality to a responsibility to which they find themselves unequal, the Wide-Awakes wantonly destroy a system that gave them a monopoly of all this trade, and of other great advantages; thus sealing their own incapability of conducting the affairs of any Government.

Whatever the future of the South may be, the fanatical Puritan will be forever cut off from a voice in her councils. History must record the fact that the Abolitionized Puritan and German broke up the Government of Washington. To such men the privilege of the elective franchise should never be extended.

The wholesale abandonment of State and individual rights by your representative men, creates doubt as to whether there is sufficient virtue and intelligence left among the Northern people to enable them to make the effort to restore their Government to its original character. It will, however, soon be in the power of the people of the Ohio Valley by bold revolutionary acts to tear themselves from the Lincoln iniquity.

Organize! organize for revolution. Form clubs in every neighborhood, whether you have associated action or not. Let your first objects be to prevent enlistments and contributions to the army of the usurpers, to elect one of your number to all of your municipal State and Federal offices within your gift. Summer will not open upon you before giving you the opportunity. Be ready to rise as our invincible armies advance. Vindicate your trampled manhood by the overthrow of the usurpers, and prove yourselves worthy a place in civilized communities.

The Southern slopes of Illinois, Indiana and Ohio, fighting side by side with Kentucky, Missouri, Arkansas, Mississippi and Louisiana, all of the valley of the Mississippi for the Right, will re-establish much that has been lost by trading leaders, and the madness of the hour. The North will become so dismantled before the close of the war, that the people along the border will have the power and may determine to change the line between the free and slave States—in this way dissipated rights may be entirely restored to a part of your territory.

But there can be no place for any portion of you in this Confederacy without the thorough approval and hearty adoption of the Constitution of the Confederate States; which is but a more open expression of the Federal Constitution as always interpreted by Jefferson and Madison.

Had the Northern people been true to the institutions of the fathers of democracy; had the doctrines of the Kentucky Resolutions of '98 been the rule of action instead of merely the subjects of rhetorical flourish, probably no cause for separation would ever had existed. But the long festering corruption in the political condition of the North, the moral fever of the disorganizing, agrarian, family-breaking doctrines which have been sedulously poured into her social system, was obliged to work its way through the flesh of the body politic, laying it before the astonished world a hideous deformity, a helpless hulk.

The independence of the State is the only safeguard against the centralizing and despotic instincts of the General Government, the only solution of the great question of successfully combining the diverse interests, different political institutions, varieties of climate and production of vast territories, into a vigorous national unity, consistent with the preservation of the liberties of the citizens. Fidelity to citizens' rights is always the test of the health of a Republic. "I am a Roman citizen!" was the proudest boast of the sons of the Eternal City in the days of her majesty and purity. "I am an American citizen!" had become almost equal in magic, over a greater world than the Roman dreamed of. "Sovereign citizen" is therefore no exaggerated expression. By honorable adherence to these rights

shall a nation ever preserve itself from lawless innovations of crude and evil minds, shall invigorate its system with the essence of an everlasting youth, shall be more and more prepared for the highest forms of political power.

It is the more faithful recognition of citizens' rights that gives the South the soundness and strength over the North which, in this hour of precipitate trial, has astonished Europe and America, and no one more than the evil-eyed disorganizers among yourselves, who prophecied with demoniac glee the destruction of Southern homes by internal eruption.

As there never was so wicked a war waged by any Government as this of the Wide-Awake Cabinet against the people of the South, so, in merited retribution, no Government ever fell so rapidly from political power and reputation as that of the dis-United States. The English Government, if it were tyrannical against the American colonies, was at least dignified at home. The French revolution was holy in comparison with this abolition crusade both by its multiplied and awful provocations and by its aims, for, though blindly directed, it heroically struck out for citizens' rights, while the North is basely, madly, trampling them under foot.

This day was made holy nearly half a century ago by the flow of Southern blood in defence of neutral rights. To-day the truckling traitors to the Constitution of the once United States, stultifying the nation's historic policy by a brigand violation of those acknowledged international rights, have been driven to a merited humiliation, and at this hour, the once haughty flag which received its immortal baptism in Southern song is trailing in the dust before a jeering world. The Nemesis of Destiny will yet snatch from their desecrated hands the "star-spangled banner" and all its heraldic glories.

GEO. N. SANDERS.

THE AMERICAN FLAG

As regarded by the *New York Tribune*, "at least up to the fall of Sumter, that crisis which brought to some men wisdom, but to others only discretion."

From the New York Tribune.

All hail the flaunting lie!
 The stars grow pale and dim;
 The stripes are bloody scars—
 A Lie the vaunting hymn.
 It shields a pirate's deck,
 It binds a man in chains,
 It yokes the captive's neck,
 And wipes the bloody stains.

Tear down the flaunting Lie!
 Half-mast the starry flag!
 Insult no sunny sky
 With hate's polluted rag!
 Destroy it ye who can!
 Deep sink it in the waves!
 It bears a fellow-man
 To groan with fellow-slaves.

Furl, Furl the boasted Lie!
 Till Freedom lives again,
 To rule once more in truth
 Among untrammelled men.
 Roll up the starry sheen,
 Conceal its bloody stains:
 For in its folds are seen
 The stamp of rustling chains.

GOV. LETCHER'S MESSAGE

TO THE

VIRGINIA LEGISLATURE.

EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT, Jan. 6, 1862. C

Gentlemen of the Senate and House of Delegates :

I received from his Excellency Joseph E. Brown, Governor of the State of Georgia, a communication enclosing joint resolutions adopted by the Legislature of that State, and approved December 11, 1861. These resolutions relate to matters of the first importance, and they command my cordial approbation. They declare the sentiment of the Southern Confederacy, and will be enthusiastically responded to by the people of all classes,

In communicating these resolutions to the General Assembly, I embrace the opportunity to fill up a hiatus in the history of the State growing out of her changed relations. Virginia dissolved her connection with the government of the United States on the 17th day of April last, having watched closely the political conduct of President Lincoln and his Cabinet from the 4th day of March preceding. A large portion of our people believed, from the revelations of his inaugural message, that he designed to subjugate the South, and much of his policy, as developed in the first six weeks of his administration, tended to confirm and strengthen this belief. The appearance of his proclamation, however, calling on Virginia and other States for volunteers, removed all doubts, and made it plain and palpable that subjugation was his object. He had revealed his purpose, by the issue of his proclamation, to use Virginians, if possible, in coercing their Southern slaveholding brethren into submission to his will and obedience to his government and authority. Virginia, seeing that the only hope of preserving her rights and honor as a State and the liberties of her people consisted in dissolving her connection with the government of the United States and resuming her sovereignty, adopted that course, and subsequently determined to unite her destiny with her Southern sisters. She did so; and her Convention, being at the time in session, adopted such ordinances and regulations as were necessary to protect her citizens against the machinations of enemies at home and the encroachments of enemies from abroad.

Events that have transpired since the 17th day of April last have more than confirmed the worst apprehensions of the people of Virginia, and have furnished an ample and complete justification for the secession of the State. All the wicked results apprehended when she seceded have been fearfully realized, and they now constitute an important chapter in the history of the stirring times in which we live.

Such were the considerations that influenced and determined the action of Virginia.

I now propose to show that while President Lincoln professes to have inaugurated this war for preservation and perpetuation of the constitution in its spirit and letter, he has violated in the most direct manner many of its most important provisions. I propose, in the next place, to compare his conduct with the conduct of George the Third, and to prove, by refer-

ence to the Declaration of Independence, that most of his acts have been identical with those denounced by our forefathers as justifiable grounds for our separation from the mother country.

The war which has been waged against us by President Lincoln is the most unnatural, and, at the same time, the most disgraceful that has ever occurred. We are struggling for our rights and liberties, for the protection of persons and property, and for the preservation of the honor and institutions of the South. The ruthless assault that has been made upon us and the unjustifiable attempt to submission present a most extraordinary spectacle in the eyes of the civilized world.

When a Secretary of War can quietly seat himself at his desk and coolly, calmly and deliberately commit to paper a recommendation to arm the slaves of the Southern States, place them in the field and incite them to hostility to their masters and the destruction of their families, what extreme may we not reasonably anticipate from an administration that retains such an official in its service? When an administration can go to work to destroy ports in States over which they claim to have jurisdiction by sinking obstructions in the channels of our rivers and harbors (a policy unheard of among civilized nations), what enormity may we not be prepared to expect?

President Lincoln and his Cabinet have annulled the constitution, have suspended the writ of habeas corpus, and have declared martial law without constitutional warrant, but in defiance of it. Representative government has ceased to command their respect, and the direct tendency now in what remains of the late United States government is inevitably towards consolidation and despotism. Passion and prejudice, avarice and selfishness, malignity and meanness have controlled their action and directed their efforts against us.

Having presented these general views, I now present specifications showing in what particulars the constitution has been violated. Some of these specifications show violations anterior to the secession of Virginia; others show violations equally palpable subsequent to her secession.

In the preamble to the constitution of the United States our forefathers declared that the purpose and objects they had in view in the formation of the government, and those purposes and objects were "to establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty," to themselves and their posterity. The government has been so administered and directed as to defeat all these purposes and objects. Justice has not been established, nor is it respected by President Lincoln and his Cabinet. Domestic tranquility has not been insured, but domestic disturbance has been inaugurated and encouraged. The common defence has not been provided for, but Northern arms have been levelled at Southern breasts, and the welfare of our people has been totally disregarded. The blessings of liberty have not been secured to us, but we have found the federal authorities exerting all their power and using all the means at their command to reduce the Southern people to abject submission to Northern numbers.

President Lincoln and his Cabinet have wilfully and deliberately proposed to violate every provision of the third section of the fourth article of the constitution, which each of them solemnly swore or affirmed, in the presence of Almighty God, "to preserve, protect and defend." That section is in these words:

"New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, nor any State formed by the junction of two or more States or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress."

They have deliberately proposed to annex certain counties in Maryland to Virginia, and thus form the new State of Kanawha, within the jurisdiction of Virginia, without the consent of the Legislatures of those States and of Congress. They have proposed to take the four counties lying in the Pan Handle from Virginia and attach them to Pennsylvania, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States interested and of Congress. They have proposed to join the eastern counties of Virginia to Maryland, and thus make a new State by the junction of parts of two States, without the consent of the Legislatures of those States and of Congress. These propositions present a most plain and glaring violation of the constitution, and evidence an intensity of malignity towards Virginia and Virginians without parallel in the history of the United States.

The first amendment to the Constitution declares "that Congress shall make no law abridging the freedom of speech or of the press." President Lincoln and his Cabinet have wilfully disregarded the spirit of this article. Numerous instances could be cited to prove that the solemnities of an oath have not restrained them in their efforts to abridge "the freedom of speech" and to "muzzle the press." The numberless arrests made by them in Western and Eastern Virginia, in Kentucky, in Missouri, in Maryland, in Washington city, and also in the free States, when nothing more was charged against the parties arrested than the declaration of their opinion in condemnation of the policy of President Lincoln and his Cabinet, show that freedom of speech is not tolerated by them. The notorious fact that papers have been suppressed in New York, Philadelphia, and elsewhere, by the exercise of Executive power, fully attests a scandalous usurpation for the destruction of the independence of the press.

The President and his Cabinet, and the military officers under their direction and control, have violated the fourth article of the amendment to the constitution, which guarantees "the rights of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures," and declares that it "shall not be violated." This article has been habitually disregarded, and every observant man will call to mind numerous instances of the violation—the results of suspicion merely.

He and his Cabinet have violated, and deliberately and wilfully, the fifth article of the amendments to the constitution, which is in these words:—

"No person shall be held to answer for a capital or otherwise infamous crime unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life and limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself; nor be deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

Without a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, they have, on mere suspicion of crime, caused men and women to be arrested and confined under strong guards, and have detained them for weeks and months. They have prostituted the telegraph to their use, for the purpose of communicating orders for the arrest of suspected persons, repudiating all those safeguards which the law has wisely thrown around the citizen for his protection. Desolation has followed in the footsteps of the federal army. Neither life, liberty nor property has been respected by them. They have murdered many of the best citizens of the country, they have incarcerated others in jails and forts, and they have seized and appropriated private property to public use without just compensation to the owner.

He and his Cabinet have disregarded the injunctions of the sixth article of the amendments to the constitution, not less flagrantly than those to which I have referred. That article declares:—

“In all criminal prosecutions the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation, to be confronted with the witnesses against him, to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.”

He and his Cabinet have seized large numbers of our citizens; withdrawn them from their homes, their families and their business; cast them into loathsome prisons; refused to inform them of the cause and nature of the accusation against them; denied to them the right and opportunity of consultation with friends or counsel, and have withheld from them a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury. They would neither confront them with the witnesses against them, nor could they allow them to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in their favor.

The conduct of President Lincoln has been as oppressive and tyrannical towards the Confederate States as the acts of the King of Great Britain, which caused our first Revolution, were towards the colonies. The comparison cannot fail to make its impression upon the mind even of the casual observer.

President Lincoln has plundered the public treasury, and has delivered at least forty thousand dollars to Pierpont to enable him and his traitorous associates in the Commonwealth of Virginia to overthrow the State Government, and to organize within the limits of this State a new Government. He has thus been guilty of the unprincipled conduct of using the people's money to lavish upon traitors and encourage them to perseverance in their work of treason.

To this end “he has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.”

He has combined with Pierpont and other traitors in Virginia “to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution and unacknowledged by our laws, giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation.”

He is endeavoring to quarter “large bodies of armed troops amongst us.”

He is endeavoring to cut off “our trade with all parts of the world.”

He is endeavoring to impose “taxes upon us without our consent.”

He is endeavoring to deprive us, “in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury.”

“He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.”

“He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.”

“He is at this time transporting large bodies of mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation and tyranny already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.”

He has endeavored to excite domestic insurrections amongst us by proposing to put arms in the hands of our slaves, and thereby encouraging them to “an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and condition.”

He has violated laws human and divine to gratify his passions, to glut his prejudices, and to wreak his vengeance upon a people who ask only their rights and who are struggling to preserve their liberties. Can a government conducted upon such principles endure?

In every stage of these oppressions, attempted or consummated, prior to the secession to the State, we warned President Lincoln and the Northern people of the inevitable consequences of their course, and admonished them that if justice was not accorded to us, the Union must be dissolved. In every state of these oppressions since the secession of the State, we

have resisted them as became a free people asserting their independence. Our admonitions and resistance have been answered by repeated injury and oppression, aggravated by war and bloodshed and by the assumption and exercise of power which even an autocrat would hesitate to assume and exercise. A President "whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be a ruler of a free people."

I have thus presented:—

1. The considerations that influenced and controlled the action of Virginia in separating herself from the government of the United States and resuming her sovereignty.

2. The results which President Lincoln's policy gave us fearful reason to apprehend, and which are now matters of history stamped indelibly upon its pages. In these I enumerate its repeated violations of a constitution which he had solemnly sworn to support.

3. I have run a parallel between the conduct of President Lincoln and George the Third, and have demonstrated that the former has shown himself not less a tyrant and usurper than the latter.

The constitution of the United States has had no binding efficacy upon us since the 17th day of April last. On that day we repudiated it, and declared to the world that we would not be longer bound by its provisions. From that day Virginia dates a new era. Her own constitution, her laws and her ordinances constituted the rule for her guidance from that day forward until her union with the Confederate States was consummated. While she occupied a position as an independent State she deported herself with the grace and dignity that became "the mother of States;" after her union with the Confederate Government she fulfilled her obligations faithfully in her new relation.

The occurrences of the past nine months have demonstrated conclusively that we cannot live together as equals under the government of the United States; and the habitual violation of the provisions of the constitution, and the open disregard of the laws by President Lincoln and his officials, render governmental association between us impossible. Mutual respect between the citizens of the Southern Confederacy and those of the North has ceased to exist. Mutual confidence has been succeeded by mutual distrust, and mutual good will by mutual aversion. No government can be enduring which does not possess the affection and respect of the governed. It cannot be that the people of the Confederate States can again entertain a feeling of affection and respect for the government of the United States. We have, therefore, separated from them, and now let it be understood that the separation "is and ought to be final and irrevocable"—that Virginia will, under no circumstances, entertain any proposition from any quarter which may have for its object a restoration or reconstruction of the late Union on any terms and conditions whatever.

We must be content with nothing less than the unqualified recognition of the independence of the Southern Confederacy and its nationality, by the government of the United States; and to this end we must meet the issue they have tendered to us with spirit, energy and determination, and with a firm resolve on the part of each of the Confederate States that everything shall be done that may be necessary to ensure the triumph of our arms and thus secure our liberty and independence for the South.

In conclusion, I recommend that before your adjournment this day, you reaffirm, by solemn vote in each house, the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly of Georgia. The Empire State of the South has spoken; let not "the Mother of States" remain silent on a subject of so much significance and importance to the Southern Confederacy.

Respectfully,

JOHN LETCHER.

MESSAGE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS.

To the Congress of the Confederate States :

The few weeks which have elapsed since your adjournment have brought me so near the close of the year, that we are now able to sum up its general results. The retrospect is such as should fill the hearts of our people with gratitude to Providence for His kind interposition in their behalf. Abundant yields have rewarded the labor of the agriculturist, whilst the manufacturing industry of the Confederate States was never so prosperous as now. The necessities of the times have called into existence new branches of manufactures, and given a fresh impulse to the activity of those heretofore in operation. The means of the Confederate States for manufacturing the necessities and comforts of life within themselves increases as the conflict continues, and we are gradually becoming independent of the rest of the world for the supply of such military stores and munitions as are indispensable for war.

The operations of the army, soon to be partially interrupted by the approaching winter, have afforded a protection to the country and shed a lustre upon its arms through the trying vicissitudes of more than an arduous campaign, which entitle our brave volunteers to our praise and our gratitude.

From its commencement up to the present period the war has been constantly enlarging its proportions and expanding its boundaries, so as to include new fields. The conflict now extends from the shores of the Chesapeake to the confines of Missouri and Arizona; yet sudden calls from the remotest points for military aid have been met with promptness enough not only to avert disaster in the face of superior numbers, but also to roll back the tide of invasion from the border.

When the war commenced, the enemy were possessed of certain strategic points and strong places within the Confederate States. They greatly exceeded us in numbers, in available resources, and in the supplies necessary for war. Military establishments had been long organized, and were complete; the navy, and for the most part, the army, once common to both, were in their possession. To meet all this we had to create not only an army in the face of war itself, but also the military establishments necessary to equip and place it in the field. It ought, indeed, to be a subject of congratulation that the spirit of the volunteers and the patriotism of the people have enabled us, under Providence to grapple successfully with these difficulties.

A succession of glorious victories at Bethel, Bull Run, Manassas, Springfield, Lexington, Leesburg and Belmont, has checked the wicked invasion which greed of gain and the unhallowed lust of power brought upon our soil, and has proved that numbers cease to avail when directed against a people fighting for the sacred right of self-government and the privileges of freedom.

After more than seven months of war, the enemy have not only failed to extend their occupancy of our soil, but new States and Territories have been added to our Confederacy, while instead of their threatening a march of unchecked conquest, they have been driven at more than one point to assume the defensive; and upon a fair comparison between the two belligerents as to men, military means and financial condition, the Confederate States are relatively much stronger now than when the struggle commenced.

Since your adjournment, the people of Missouri have conducted the war in the face of almost unparalleled difficulties, with a spirit and success alike worthy of themselves and of the great cause in which they are struggling. Since that time Kentucky, too, has become the theatre of active hostilities. The Federal forces have not only refused to acknowledge her right to be neutral, and have insisted upon making her a party to the war, but have invaded her for the purpose of attacking the Confederate States. Outrages of the most despotic character have been perpetrated upon her people; some of her most eminent citizens have been seized and borne away to languish in foreign prisons, without knowing who were their accusers, or the specific charges made against them, while others have been forced to abandon their homes, their families and property, and seek a refuge in distant lands.

Finding that the Confederate States were about to be invaded through Kentucky, and that her people, after being deceived into a mistaken security, were invaded and in danger of being subjugated by the Federal forces, our armies were marched into that State to repel the enemy and prevent their occupation of certain strategic points which would have given them great advantages in the contest. A step which was justified not only by the necessity of self-defence on the part of the Confederate States, but also by a desire to aid the people of Kentucky.

It was never intended by the Confederate Government to conquer or coerce the people of that State, but, on the contrary, it was declared by our Generals that they would withdraw their troops if the Federal Government would do likewise. Proclamation was also made of the desire to respect the neutrality of Kentucky, and the intention to abide by the wishes of her people, as soon as they were free to express their opinions. These declarations were approved by me, and I should regard it as one of the best effects of the march of our troops into Kentucky, if it should aid in giving to her people liberty of choice and a free opportunity to decide their own destiny according to their own will.

While the army has been chiefly instrumental in prosecuting this great contest, the navy has also been effective in full proportion to its means. The naval officers, deprived to a great extent of an opportunity to make their professional skill available at sea, have served with commendable zeal and gallantry on shore and upon inland waters, further details of which will be found in the reports of the navy and war.

In the transportation of the mails many difficulties have arisen which will be found fully developed in the report of the Postmaster-General. The absorption of the ordinary means of transportation for the movements of troops and military stores, the insufficiency of the rolling stock of railroads for the accumulation of business resulting both from military operations and the obstruction of water communication by the presence of the enemy's fleet; the failure and even refusal of contractors to comply with the terms of their agreement; the difficulties inherent in inaugurating so vast and complicated a system as that which requires postal facilities for every town and village in a territory so extended as ours, have all combined to impede the best directed efforts of the Postmaster General, whose zeal, industry and ability have been taxed to the utmost extent. Some of these difficulties can only be overcome by time and an improved condition of the country upon the restoration of peace; but others may be remedied by legislation, and your attention is invited to the recommendations contained in the report of the head of that department.

The condition of the treasury will, doubtless, be a subject of anxious inquiry on your part. I am happy to say that the financial system already adopted has worked well so far, and promises good results for the future.

To the extent that treasury notes may be issued, the government is enabled to borrow money without interest, and thus facilitate the conduct of the war. This extent is measured by the portion of the field of circulation which these notes can be made to occupy. The proportion of the field thus occupied depends again upon the amount of debts for which they are receivable, and when due, not only to the Confederate and State Governments, but also to corporations and individuals, are payable in this medium, a large amount of it may be circulated at par.

There is every reason to believe that the Confederate treasury note is fast becoming such a medium. The provision that these notes shall be convertible into stock, bearing eight per cent. interest, at the pleasure of the holder, ensures them against a depreciation below the value of that stock, and no considerable fall in that value need be feared so long as the interest shall be punctually paid.

The punctual payment of this interest has been secured by the act passed by you at the last session, imposing such a rate of taxation as must provide sufficient means for that purpose. For the successful prosecution of this war, it is indispensable that the means of transporting troops and military supplies be furnished as far as possible in such manner as not only not to interrupt the commercial intercourse between our people nor place a check upon their productive energies.

To this end the means of transportation from one section of our country to the other, must be carefully guarded and improved. And this should be the object of anxious care on the part of State and Confederate Governments, so far as they may have power over the subject.

We have already two main systems of transportation from North to South. One from Richmond along the seaboard, the other through Western Virginia to New Orleans. A third might be secured by completing a link of about forty miles between Danville, in Virginia, and Greenburgh, in North Carolina. The construction of this comparatively short line would give us a through route from North to South in the interior of the Confederate States, and give us access to a population and to the resources from which we are now in a great measure deprived.

We should increase greatly the safety and capacity of our means for transporting men and military supplies.

If the construction of this road should, in the judgment of Congress, as it is in mine, be indispensable for the most successful prosecution of the war, the action of the government will not be restrained by the constitutional objection which would attach to such a work for commercial purposes, and attention is invited to the practicability of securing its early completion by giving the needful aid to the company organized for its construction and administration.

If we husband our means and make a judicious use of our resources, it would be difficult to fix a limit to the period during which we could conduct a war against the adversary whom we now encounter. The very effort which he makes to isolate and invade us must exhaust his means, whilst they serve to complete the circle and diversify the productions of our industrial system.

The reconstruction which he seeks to effect by arms becomes daily more palpably impossible; not only do the causes which induced us to separate still last in full force, but they have been strengthened, and whatever doubt may have lingered in the minds of any must have been completely dispelled by subsequent events.

If, instead of being a dissolution of a league, it were indeed a rebellion in which we are engaged, we might find ample vindication for the course we have adopted in the scenes which are now being enacted in the United States. Our people now look with contemptuous astonishment on those with whom they have been so recently associated. They shrink with aversion from the bare idea of renewing such connection.

When they see a President making war without the assent of Congress; when they behold judges threatened because they maintain the writ of habeas corpus, so sacred to freemen; when they see justice and law trampled under the iron heel of military authority, and upright men and innocent women dragged to distant dungeons upon the mere edict of a despot; when they find all this tolerated and applauded by a people who had been in the full enjoyment of freedom but a few months ago—they believe that there must be some radical incompatibility between such a people and themselves.

With such a people we may be content to live at peace, but the separation is final, and for the independence we have asserted we will accept no alternative.

The nature of the hostilities which they have waged against us, must be characterized as barbarous wherever it is understood. They have bombarded undefended villages without giving notice to women and children to enable them to escape, and in one instance selected the night as the period when they might surprise them most effectually, whilst asleep and unsuspecting of danger. Arson and rapine, the destruction of private houses and property, and injuries of the most wanton character, even upon non-combatants, have marked their forays along our borders and upon our territory. Although we ought to have been admonished by these things, that they were disposed to make war upon us in the most cruel and relentless spirit, yet we were not prepared to see them fit out a large naval expedition, with the confessed purpose not only to pillage, but to incite a servile insurrection in our midst.

If they convert their soldiers into incendiaries and robbers, and involve us in a species of war, which claims non-combatants, women and children as its victims, they must expect to be treated as outlaws and enemies of mankind.

There are certain rights of humanity which are entitled to respect, even in war, and he who refuses to regard them forfeits his claim, if captured, to be considered a prisoner of war, but must expect to be dealt with as an offender against all law, human and divine. But not content with violating our rights under the law of nations at home, they have extended their injuries to us within other jurisdiction.

The distinguished gentlemen whom, with your approval at the last session, I commissioned to represent the Confederacy at certain foreign Courts, have been recently seized by the Captain of a United States ship-of-war on board a British steamer, on their voyage from the neutral Spanish port of Havana to England.

The United States have thus claimed a general jurisdiction over the high seas, and entering a British ship sailing under the country's flag, violated the rights of embassy, for the most part held sacred, even amongst barbarians, by seizing our ministers whilst under the protection of, and within the dominions of a neutral nation.

These gentlemen were as much under the jurisdiction of the British Government upon that ship and beneath its flag, as if they had been on its soil, and a claim on the part of the United States to seize them in the streets of London would have been as well founded as that to apprehend them where they were taken.

Had they been malefactors, and citizens even of the United States, they could not have been arrested in a British ship or on British soil, unless under the express provisions of a treaty, and according to the forms therein provided for the extradition of criminals.

But rights the most sacred seem to have lost all respect in their eyes. When Mr. Faulkner, a former Minister of the United States to France, commissioned before the secession of Virginia, his native State, returned in good faith to Washington to settle his accounts and fulfil all obligations into which he had entered, he was perfidiously arrested and imprisoned in New York, where he now is. The unsuspecting confidence with which he reported to his government was abused, and his desire to fulfil his trust to them was used to his injury. In conducting this war we have sought no aid and proposed no alliances offensive and defensive abroad.

The advantages of intercourse are mutual among nations, and in seeking to establish the diplomatic relations we were only endeavoring to place that intercourse under the regulation of law. Perhaps we had the right if we had chosen to exercise it, to ask to know whether the principle that blockades to be binding must be effectual, so solemnly announced by the great powers of Europe at Paris, as to be generally enforced, or applied only to particular parties.

When the Confederate States, at your last session, became a party to the declaration re-affirming this principle of international law, which has been recognized so long by publicists and governments, we certainly supposed that it was to be universally enforced. The customary laws of nations is made up of their practice rather than their declarations; and if such declarations are only to be enforced in particular instances, at the pleasure of those who make them, then the commerce of the world, so far from being placed under the regulation of a general law, will become subject to the caprice of those who execute or suspend it at will. If such is to be the course of nations in regard to this law, it is plain that it will thus become a rule for the weak and not for the strong.

Feeling that such views must be taken by the neutral nations of the earth, I have caused the evidence to be collected which proves completely the utter inefficiency of the proclaimed blockade of our coast, and shall direct it to be laid before such governments as shall afford us the means of being heard.

But, although they should be benefitted by the enforcement of this law, so solemnly declared by the great powers of Europe, we are not dependent on that enforcement for the successful prosecution of the war.

As long as the hostilities continue, the Confederate States will exhibit a steadily increasing capacity to furnish their troops with food, clothing and arms.

If they should be forced to forego many of the luxuries and some of the comforts of life, they will at least have the consolation of knowing that they are thus daily becoming more independent of the rest of the world.

If, in this process, labor in the Confederate States should be gradually diverted from those great Southern staples, which have given life to so much of the commerce of mankind, into other channels, so as to make them rival producers instead of profitable customers, they will not be the only or even chief losers by this change in the direction of their industry.

Although it is true that the cotton supply from the Southern States could only be totally cut off by the subversion of our social system, yet it is plain that a long continuance of this blockade might, by a diversion of labor and investment of capital in other employments, so diminish the supply as to bring ruin upon all those interests of foreign countries which are dependent on that staple. For every laborer who is diverted from the culture of cotton in the South, perhaps four times as many elsewhere, who have found subsistence in the various employments growing out of its use, will be forced also to change their occupation.

While the war which is waged to take from us the right of self-government can never attain that end, it remains to be seen how far it may work a revolution in the industrial system of the world, which may carry suffering to other lands as well as our own.

In the meantime, we shall continue to struggle in humble dependence upon Providence, from whose searching scrutiny we cannot conceal the secrets of our hearts, and to whose rule we confidently submit our destinies. For the rest we shall depend upon ourselves. Liberty is always won where there exists the unconquerable will to be free; and we have reason to know the strength that is given by a conscious sense not only of the magnitude, but of the righteousness of our cause.

RICHMOND, November 18, 1861.

JEFFERSON DAVIS.





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